SOUTH END REPORT

Boston Redevelopment Authority
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Project Director: Russell M. Traunstein

Director of Renewal Planning and
Acting Project Planning Officer: Richard Bolan

Staff: Richard A. Lockhart, Chief Planner
William E. Barbour, Principal Planner
Kenneth E. Sulzer, Senior Planner
David Farley, Senior Planning Designer
Jean MacCarthy Marshall, Senior Planner
John Shannin, Junior Planner
David Johnson, Junior Planner
Patricia A. McGee, Junior Planning Analyst
Patricia Bauman, Junior Planning Aide
Joanne M. Lord, Typist

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INTRODUCTION

This report culminates the formal research stage of South End project planning. The intent in this stage was to gain enough understanding of the social, economic, and physical problems of the area and of possible solutions, so that meaningful physical plans for the renewal of the community could be made.

The Preliminary Plan Report of June 1962 constituted an initial statement of problems and set down preliminary objectives for community renewal. The following report represents a detailed study of existing problems. Out of this study will come specific proposals on physical improvements for the South End to be used as a basis for community discussion. Out of this discussion will come the final approved physical plan for the South End.

The report consists of six sections. In order of presentation, these are: IA - Special Community Facilities, IB - Conventional Community Facilities, II - The Housing Market, III - Shopping, IV - Industry, and V - Design Implications and Re-evaluation of Preliminary Report.

The section on Special Community Facilities serves as an introduction to the entire report by examining in detail the special problems and problem groups of the South End; for example, minority groups, the elderly, and Skid Row. Although approaches of a social nature are discussed, the physical facilities proposed to alleviate some of these problems are also set down in some detail.

In discussing Conventional Community Facilities, the report points up the deficiencies of the South End according to contemporary standards for education and recreation space. Largely based on these standards, the number, size, and location of new facilities are suggested.

After describing trends in population composition, housing preferences, and rent preferences, the section on housing concludes that new housing must necessarily be low rent if the objective of keeping present residents in the area is to be realized. In addition, a large part of the new construction must be public housing in order to meet the needs of those who cannot afford even the lowest rent private facilities. Although the amount of new construction will be sizeable, rehabilitation is expected to house the bulk of the low income population. However, this latter conclusion depends largely upon the extent to which rents will be raised in rehabilitated units.

The section devoted to the local shopping facilities in the South End discusses the number, types, and condition of retail and service outlets. The existing facilities are then compared to the facilities able to be supported on the basis of the income and spending characteristics of the people in the trade area. This analysis points out the high incidence of excess floor space and marginal character of local shopping outlets in the area.

In the section on industry, the South End's present role as a distributive and light manufacturing area is discussed. This role is analyzed in the light of present trends and future prospects for industrial development in Greater Boston. The advantages of the South End are reviewed , based on industrial needs of location and vehicular access. The conclusion is that the South End will become even more important as a distributive and light industrial area with the construction of additional expressways nearby and with general area improvement.

The part of the report dealing with the physcial planning implications of the preceding analyses concludes that sufficient

land does not exist fully to accommodate the anticipated demand for space in all use categories. The report points up the importance of careful planning in determining future land allocations for the various uses. In addition, on the basis of the more detailed studies reported here, it was found that the design concept suggested in the Preliminary Plan Report of separating specific groups having specific problems and needs is not feasible, since the greatest and most significant problems found in the South End are common to all areas. Also, as anticipated earlier, the potential social, political, and physical ramifications involved in effectuating such an approach would make the overall success of urban renewal unlikely.

Finally, the report brings out in several places that although a carefully prepared physical plan can go far in mitigating social and economic problems, it alone can never provide the final solution. Only constant concern on the part of all the citizenry can bring ultimate relief.

The material required in these studies was gathered from many sources. Some material was available in studies previously conducted by other agencies, or available in other compiled form. Other material was in the nature of raw data. Many people outside of the South End staff contributed time, advice, and information. For this we are grateful. The sources of data and those persons making contributions to these reports are recorded in the individual reports.

IA SPECIAL FACILITIES DESIGNED TO MEET SPECIAL SOUTH END PROBLEMS

Before considering all the problems and problem groups in the South End separately, it will be helpful to consider the common problems of the South End first.

This section of the report consists of 1) an identification of the most serious of these problems, 2) a consideration of programs, existing or proposed, for the amelioration or solution of these problems, and the requirements for facilities implied or recommended by such programs, 3) an attempt to determine the present and future number of persons involved, and 4) deduced from this data, the present and future demand for the suggested facilities.

The special South End social problem groups and problems to be considered are: 1) the Elderly, 2) the "Newcomers" and Minority Groups, 3) Chronic Problem Families. The common problem of employment and the special problem of Skid Row are considered at the end of this section.

Economic problems are paramount among most of the problem groups in the South End. Universally low incomes are the result of lack of skill, inability to work because of physical or mental handicaps or lack of motivation, and discrimination because of race, color or age.

Unemployment is characteristic of the labor situation in the community. Approximately 10% of the male labor force is unemployed, while 7% of the participating female labor force is not working. Both these figures are significantly higher than those for the city and metropolitan area. Over 11,000 South End workers out of a total of approximately 17,000 are working in low skilled or unskilled occupations. The majority of South End residents are employed as service workers, general factory workers, and in general labor. Considering

the prospect of continued immigration of southern Negroes and Puerto Ricans (described later in this section), the ratio of low skilled workers will tend to increase in the future. Added to this, there are those handicapped and elderly persons who wish to work but because of age, low skills, and lack of public awareness, are unable to sustain employment.

Marginal incomes are reflected in problems of housing and health. Substandard housing is typical of the problem groups, and there is a high rate of physical health problems related to poor diet and insufficient attention to medical needs. Mental health difficulties frequently compound these problems.

Many of the members of the problem groups have weakened family relationships. For most of the groups, this follows a circular cause and result pattern. Their problem undermines the very structure that can give them the strength to face and solve it.

Some people seek the anonymity of the South End in a symptomatic response to their problems. Others, such as the elderly, are unable or afraid to utilize the normal means of social communication. Still others, such as the "newcomers", and minority groups, face barriers of language and discrimination.

There are common problems of communication and information, frequently resulting in the inability of the problem person to find the information he needs to utilize the facilities currently available to him. This difficulty is compounded by the panoply of agencies, public and private, which not infrequently have problems of coordinating their efforts.

THE AGENCIES

A wealth of agencies, both public and private, serve the South End. These range from highly professional organizations to organizations staffed by helpful lay volunteers. Generally speaking, these meet the needs of the problem people of the South End as they have been interpreted by past standards of welfare care. But as research throws new light on the nature of these social problems, a new understanding of the needs of our people with these problems is acquired and new resources are provided, new programs to supplement or supplant the old, have and will evolve. These programs will have significant implications for urban renewal. Some of the programs will be able to use existing facilities; some will require new structures. The physical plan should include a degree of flexibility that will permit the future construction of facilities as their need becomes manifestly clearer, while making optimum interim use of potential sites and facilities. The need for flexibility is also suggested by the limited (but expanding) resources of private and public health and welfare agencies. While financial resources may never be sufficient to provide all the social services which may seem warranted, an even more serious limiting factor is, unhappily, the shortage of skilled, trained social workers. We can expect this factor to be more limiting on the scope of future social programs than the lack of physical facilities.

THE PROGRAM

Programs for the assistance of people with problems are supported by two distinct groups interested in the public welfare; public agencies (including federal, state and city) and private, charitable agencies. Under the prevailing philosophy of public

welfare, the limits of responsibility of each are not as distinct as they once were. However, no attempt has been made in the following recommendations to assign jurisdictions except where they obviously belong in either the public or private domains.

Public programs still have as their foundation the concept of amelioration of intolerable, immediate social problems. This aid is given to dependent children or free medical care is provided insofar as possible where payment is infeasible. Only in the last twenty years have Government welfare services begun to pay attention to the underlying problems of which the above examples are but symptoms.

Private programs have tried to fill the gaps left by public welfare but their limited resources have not permitted them to help many of those not in the most needy category.

Social work programs, public or private typically have three aspects: casework, group activities, and community organization. All must play a part in coming to grips with the problems of the South End and each must be integrated with the other two to produce optimum results.

Casework, perhaps the most important of the three because it reaches out to those with the most serious problems (and this group tends to be the most isolated), generally occurs in the setting of the home or the worker's office. Therefore no facilities beyond provision of adequate office space are required for this type of activity.

Group activities may require special separate facilities, they may use conventional facilities or they may share special facilities with other groups. One example of the first category is the day center for the elderly. Because it is used nearly all the time, it

must be a distinct facility. The second category might be illustrated by a dance held in a school gymnasium. An example of the third categoy might be a community center meeting room used by different groups from time to time.

Community organization activity may occur in the home, a settlement house or in any facility able to house a large group. For symbolic purposes a separate facility to house community meetings might be appropriate although it would have to serve other functions as well to be justified as a full time, separate facility.

Adequate facilities may aid the social work program but it must be borne in mind that what are required are services, not structures. A resourceful program can frequently make do with available facilities but it cannot survive without the leadership of trained, dedicated people. While every effort should be made to provide facilities that will call forth programs, an equal effort must be made to secure the personnel to lead such programs.

CONVENTIONAL COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH END

While special facilities will help to cope with the social problems of the South End, the role of new conventional facilities in the solution or amelioration of these problems should not be underestimated. While it might be difficult to establish a causal relationship between deficiencies in public facilities and social problems, there is no question that a harsh and depressing environment does much to aggravate existing problems. Improved conventional facilities will have a number of implications for the special problem groups. Among these are the following:

1. Educational and recreational facilities will provide opportunities for the strengthening of a secondary

relationships among individuals. While not a full substitute for the weak primary family relations so frequently found among the problem groups (the strengthening of which is most often handled by social workers through individual casework), secondary relationships can play an important supplementary role in the treatment of problems.

2. Educational opportunities can ameliorate financial problems through the development of employment skills.
3. The development of neighborhoods of conventional appearance through facilities and residential renewal will have an important psychological affect on the attitudes of South Enders toward themselves and the attitudes of outsiders toward the South End. (It is important therefore that the location and design of special facilities in the South End be sufficiently unobtrusive as to avoid further identification of the area as different and inferior.)
4. Conventional facilities can be used for certain functions connected with programs for the special problem groups if not required on a permanent basis.

PROBLEMS AND PROBLEM GROUPS

1) THE ELDERLY

It is essential to remember that the elderly are individuals and differ one from another as much as individuals in any age group. The general needs of the aged, as defined in a recent report by Action for Boston Community Development, are not unlike those of other groups:

1. Need for income security and income maintenance.
2. Need for employment opportunities, within capacities.
3. Need for maintenance of physical and mental health.
4. Need for suitable housing and living arrangements.
5. Need for meaningful activity and useful participation in in family, religious, and community life, particularly during unoccupied time.

It is in the priorities given each of the above needs that differentiates the elderly from younger people. Health becomes more of a problem. Increased leisure time requires help in substituting meaningful activities that can take the place work formerly had. Income generally is decreased and financial difficulties create greater anxiety. The extent to which the elderly population of the South End have problems is the extent to which these needs are not met.

RECOMMENDED OR SUGGESTED FACILITIES REQUIRED TO MEET PROBLEMS

RESOURCE CENTER FOR OLDER ADULTS

This would be essentially an information and referral center designed as part of a general South End Renewal Information Center to provide the elderly easy access to the numerous existing facilities and services available to them throughout the city. The South End Renewal Information Center should be one of the first structures built in the proposed community center complex. It could well serve as a symbol of the renewal the South End will undergo. This center would be a permanent structure and would serve not only to show what the South End will be like, but would serve a vital social purpose. It is reasonable to expect that the business community, especially those in the building industry, would be

willing to underwrite the construction with donations of money, materials and labor. Employment, rehabilitation, educational, health, welfare, and recreational information would be provided by the center.

The Resource Center for Older Adults would be non-public and would be staffed by volunteers and professionals provided by one of the community service organizations. It might house the interdisciplinary health council proposed by ABCD for each district. It could also serve as a base of operations for housekeeping services where volunteers or paid employees reach out to the less ambulatory aged to assist in the routine matters of cleaning, shopping for groceries, and cooking. This facility might also provide a health screening service for further referral to the various hospital clinics, perhaps on the order of the "well-oldster" clinic proposed by ABCD. Another important role it might play is in providing information on available housing, presently a needed service that will become essential when redevelopment commences.

DAY CENTERS FOR THE ELDERLY

Two new day centers for the elderly are required in the South End to supplement the activities of the existing programs. These would provide a setting for the "Golden Age" programs which have had a notable degree of success in most parts of the country. Not only do they provide a chance for the isolated elderly to enjoy meaningful activities with others but they are particularly important to those whose lodging rooms are inadequately heated in the winter. The day center should have several offices, one for each permanent staff worker, and several for visiting personnel. In addition, it should have several rooms for small groups and a large room for such

things as shows and dancing.

One of these centers would be appropriately located near or in the new housing facilities for the elderly proposed for the Castle Square area. Another should be located near Worcester Square or Franklin-Blackstone Parks to serve the large numbers of the elderly living in the area near City Hospital. It might well be integrated with the proposed Community Center and associated with the proposed Resource Center for Older Adults.

CLINIC

The resources of the two hospitals in the South End seem adequate to handle the health problems of the aged in the area. Programs such as that of Massachusetts Memorial Hospital whereby medical students make home visits to the indigent aged deserves increased support. But no new health facilities are recommended or required since the area is presently well served.

NURSING HOMES AND BOARDING HOMES

The need for additional nursing homes in the South End is not well established. One authority[1] suggests instead that boarding homes are a greater need. Frequently, the elderly have problems of food preparation and food budgeting. Proper diets at substantial savings would be possible under such an arrangement. Inquiry should be made to determine whether such a facility qualifies for low interest loans under the Hill-Burton Act designed to encourage construction of non-profit nursing homes.

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[1]Interview, Mrs. Sarah Rapp, Director of Social Work, City Hospital

PARKS FOR THE ELDERLY

The need for quiet sitting areas for all ages is detailed in the section of the report dealing with conventional facilities. Nevertheless, it will be useful here to outline a few requirements for partks to be used by the elderly, among others.

These parks should be accessible without having to cross heavy traffic; they should be in a quiet vicinity but they should focus on some interesting activity; children should have their own areas so as not to be tempted to use sitting parks for bicycling and other vigorous activities that might endanger the elderly person; the parks should have shady areas - some old people do not like to sit in the sun. Above all, the parks should be interesting and gay, but not frivolous.

SPECIAL FACILITIES FOR PUBLIC HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY

Housing for the elderly is discussed in Part II of this report. However, it is appropriate to discuss here facilities that might be constructed in conjunction with projects solely for the elderly.

Nearly all of the facilities proposed for the elderly in the community at large can be built into a project. The day center, parks, common eating facilities, and even a small clinic may be financed under the Housing Act of 1961. However, "internalizing" such facilities raises the controversial question of whether or not the elderly prefer to be isolated, segregated or integrated with - or from the rest of the community. Some authorities have recently favored segregation, i.e., living separately from other age groups but interacting with them on certain specific occasions; shopping might be one example. This would seem to justify elderly housing per se. But the question of facilities remains. There will be a

large number of elderly persons living without a project in the South End as within. This suggests that facilities be built in a part of or adjacent to the project but that they be arranged to serve a wider surrounding population than solely the aged in the project. Such an arrangement would help bridge the gap between the new population and the old and help repair the strains new construction always inflicts on the fabric of the city.

PRESENT AND FUTURE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE INVOLVED

The 1960 elderly population (people 65 and over) consists of 2900 men and 2500 women, a total of 5400. About 80% of these live alone. A large number have serious health problems and the majority have incomes less than $3,000 a year.

The 1970 elderly population of the South End, based on a projection of existing trends, is expected to be around 5200. If adjustment is made for the effects of urban renewal and feasible construction of new public housing for the lederly in the area, the expected elderly population will be between 5500 and 6000 in 1970.

The present approximate distribution of the elderly in the South End is shown on Map I, Page 12 along with facilities currently used by them and proposals for new facilities.

BASIC AND FUTURE DEMAND FOR FACILITIES

Demand for facilities for the elderly can be assessed and predicted only in rough quantitive terms. Demand in a strict economic sense must be backed up by the ability to pay. Needs that cannot be afforded are another story. Thus, for example, the demand for medical care is met but the need is not. Frequently, for example, the elderly are unable to afford the prescriptions written for them at City Hospital. The demand then is a function of income. If and

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when social security covers medical expenses one can expect the demands on the hospitals to increase.

Nevertheless, there is some quantitative data that should be considered. Day centers, for example, can expect to attract from 5 to 20% of the population over 65. If the day center can serve a basic membership of 300, (not all come at any one time), then 3 day centers are needed today and 4 will be needed by 1970. The need for parks is detailed under Part IB of this report according to quantitative standards established by appropriate authorities. (Generally speaking, the demand for future facilities will have to be determined on a trial-and-error basis especially in those categories where there are not existing facilities to test the attraction of an untried proposal.)

2) THE "NEWCOMERS" AND MINORITY GROUPS

Much of the South End population consists of minority groups, the majority of which are non-white and Puerto Rican. In addition, there are several minorities based on their country of origin, such as Greeks, Syrians, Lebanese, Armenians and Italians. There are also a number of gypsies in the South End. The ethnic minorities have been declining in numbers in recent years as the assimilation process takes place and the young people leave the area for other parts of the city and region. Their problems as minority groups are therefore diminishing.

This is not the case for the non-whites, including the southern rural Negroes, and the Puerto Ricans, who share many problems in common. Both groups suffer from discrimination and from social, economic, educational, and health problems.

The Southern rural Negro and the Puerto Rican migrant bring with them the problems resulting from their former inadequate social

and economic treatment in Puerto Rico or the South. Also, they suffer from the effects of a disruptive move, and they face the problems that members of their minority groups face in the North. While there has been some improvement in the areas of employment and schooling, especially through anti-discrimination legislation, concentration of non-whites in the South End indicates that much needs to be accomplished to eliminate discrimination in the area of housing.

Isolation and lack of contacts between white and non-white members of the community breed ignorance, suspicion, misunderstanding and distrust. It is not infrequent in the South End for a minor conflict to develop into a major issue between one ethnic or racial group and another.

The viscious circle by which segregation in housing results in segregation in schooling and therefore in the opportunity to improve socio-economic status, eventually results in an inability to improve housing. But if the pattern of earlier immigrant groups is repeated by the Puerto Rican immigrants, (and there is every hope that it will, despite their different physical appearance, which makes them easier to identify, and therefore to segregate,) this circle will be broken. And a break in one part will result in a break in the others.

The problem of the Puerto Rican is complicated by the conflict of a rural, essentially Latin cultural values with those of an urban American milieu. In addition, the language barrier is particularly acute and has many ramifications, because it is related to the general social and economic problems of this group.

Thus, for example, the lack of familiarity with language and customs is a contributory factor in the typically low paid and

insecure jobs of the Puerto Ricans. In addition, work and acquisition are not so highly valued on the Island and, by and large, the Puerto Rican is not aggressive about seeking work. The language barrier places many otherwise available facilities out of reach of the Puerto Rican population. Schools are frequently of little use to children with language difficulties. Many fall behind and drop-outs are frequent.

In summary, problems in communication create social isolation which is at once a product and reinforcer of segregation. Also, this difficulty augments health problems, many of which seem to stem from a reluctance to use existing health facilities or from difficulty in receiving information.

Puerto Ricans seem to show a greater susceptibility to mental illness than whites. This is partly due to an unfavorable heritage brought with them from the Island, partly related to the extent to which the social milieu helps the individual define goals that make his life worthwhile.

Patterns of welfare and support on the Island, to which this group is accustomed, have developed in them a reliance on welfare not found in other impoverished groups in the South End. This tends to weaken development of attitudes of self-sufficiency and community leadership. Lack of familiarity with urban family money management practices frequently leads to unwise expenditures. One recent study[1] showed that Puerto Ricans in the South End spend a disproportionate amount of the limited money they have available for food on items low in nutritional value.

Puerto Ricans seem to be beset with family and marital difficulties. Consensual unions and separations are frequent. Family links

1. Fogleman, Ruth A STUDY OF FIFTEEN PUERTO RICAN FAMILIES OF THE BOSTON SOUTH END April 1962 unpublished paper submitted for a course in nutrition at Boston University.

though extended, are casual. This seems to be a result of the Island.

Conflict with the law and the police arise, especially among the young people, although not out of proportion to their number in the kind of environment which they inhabit.

Outdoor gathering, singing and dancing, which seems to be a characteristic of the Puerto Ricans used to living in a warm climate, is a healthy outlet and not objectionable in itself, but it creates resentment on the part of neighboring residents of the South End because of the crowded conditions of the area.

FACILITIES SUGGESTED OR RECOMMENDED TO MEET PROBLEMS OF NON-WHITES AND NEWCOMERS

Professor Oscar Handlin in his book, The Newcomers, suggests that, "Some degree of social disorder has been an inescapable concomitant of all American urban growth, whatever the population involved." Thus, facilities alone will not solve the major problems of minorities. The solution will have to come out of the attitudes of the greater society, not merely the South End. Facilities can, however, bring diverse peoples into contact, thereby improving understanding and destroying the prejudices that arise through separation. Facilities, special and conventional, should therefore be located and designed so as not to rigidify the existing patterns of separation, but to serve all groups. It is for this reason that no special facilities are suggested that serve one particular minority group.

The proposed South End Renewal Center should answer these needs. It could include the following services for the newcomers and other minorities:

Housing - better housing throughout the city might be provided by a housing information service.

Occupation - A similar service might provide information on jobs in the city.

Education - Referrals might be made from the Center to schools for training or re-training in the trades and white-collar skills.

Health - Referrals might be made to appropriate clinics or hospitals when necessary.

Welfare - The activities of the Department of Welfare might be included in the Center.

These services will free social case workers from the burden of providing this information and will supplement the programs of other agencies of the South End with which this Program should be coordinated. A Spanish-speaking interviewer should be a member of the staff of the Center.

Since, as has been emphasized above, language is a large problem with the Puerto Ricans, it is important that classes in English be expanded. Past programs have not been notably successful because of the lack of motivation on the part of the Spanish-speaking people. This is a result of little experience with formal teaching and a natural shyness to admit there is a problem. Future programs must make greater efforts to reach out to the people to attract them to the program. It is also important that the program not be over-institutionalized. Its setting should be a school, a church, or a community center with which the Puerto Rican population is acquainted.

The Cardinal's Spanish-speaking Center on Washington Street provides many services for the Puerto Ricans (and also the relatively

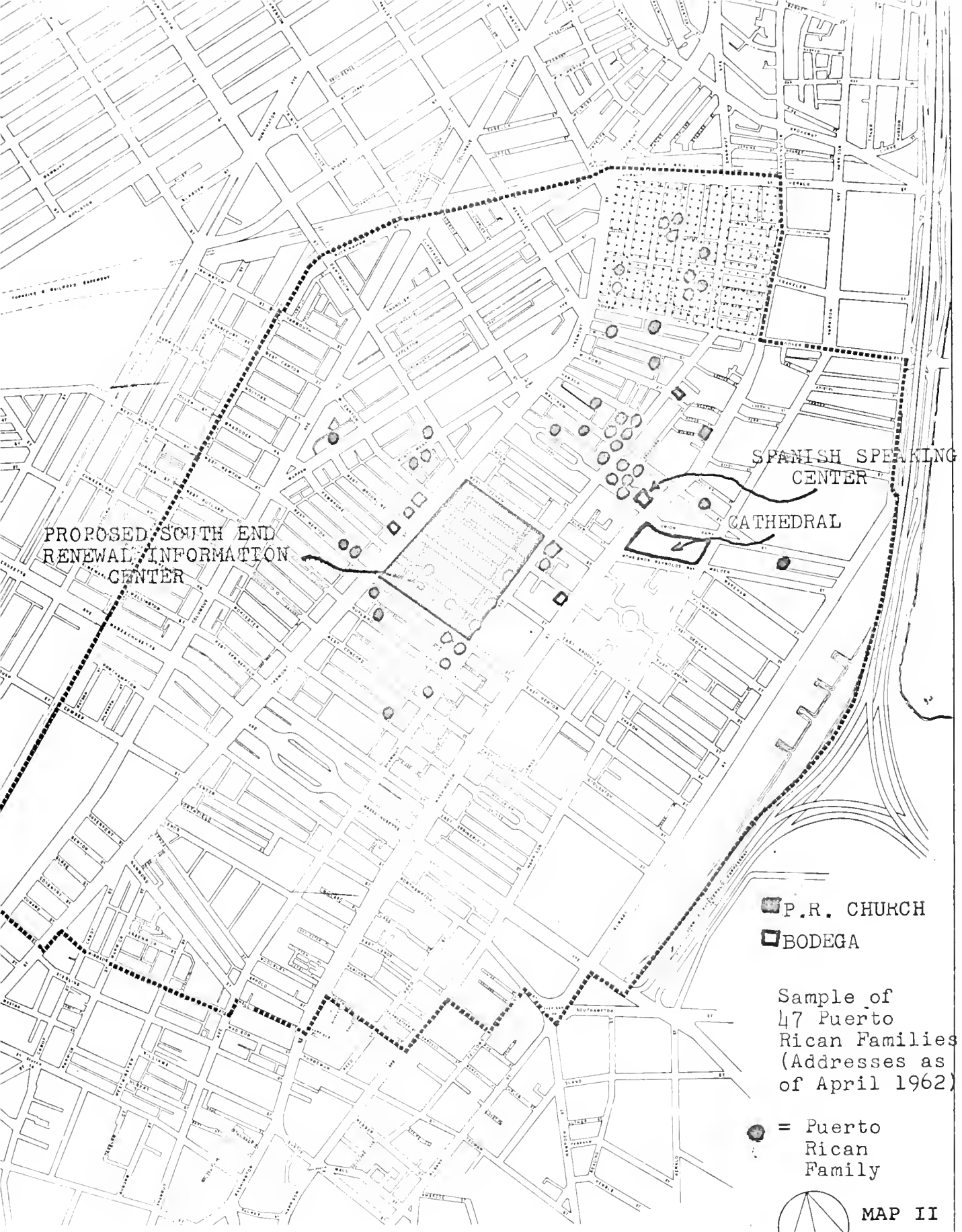
small number of Cubans) in the City, and is heavily used. The Center does not, however, reach a substantial number of non-Catholic Puerto Ricans (mainly, the Pentecostalists). This suggests the need for a supplementary program of aid and information. The Neighborhood Newcomers Program of the United South End Settlements, now discontinued, performed part of this complementary function, though it worked with both of the Puerto Rican groups. It is to be hoped that social work programs will be re-established to reach all of the people needing help and that such programs will be co-ordinated with existing programs.

A community park that is designed to provide outlets for the newcomers' predilection to outdoor living should be provided. The park should not be for any specific group but should bring several groups together. Such a "park for all peoples" could provide a setting for programs, guided by social workers, where various ethnic groups might hold dances or gatherings in the style of their former lands at which all the people of the South End would be welcome. One of the parks proposed under Part IB, Conventional Community Facilities, might be developed for this purpose.

PRESENT AND FUTURE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE INVOLVED

The Census of 1960 showed that there were some 420 Puerto Ricans in the South End. Other censuses taken by agencies in the area suggest that the present number is between 3,000 and 4,000. The location of a sample of 47 families is shown in Map II to indicate the general areas of settlement.

Future immigration of Puerto Ricans to the South End is dependent on the development of improvements on the Island and on



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the character of industrial expansion in the City of Boston. It will also, naturally, depend on the quality of the housing inventory of the South End relative to other areas of the city.

One prediction of Puerto Rican immigration in the next decade anticipates between 10,000 and 20,000 new individuals.[1] Most of these could be expected to settle in the South End, all other things remaining as they are. The Census of 1960 recorded 13,194 non-white individuals and 6,309 foreign-born individuals in the South End. Though there is no correlation possible through census data it is reasonable to conclude that the foreign-born tend to be elderly since no new great immigrations have occurred since the early part of this century. The numbers of foreign-born are therefore expected to decline sharply in the next few decades. The non-white population, on the other hand, is expted to exceed the white population by 1970, if present trends continue. This situation will partly be the result of natural increase and partly the result of more in- than out-migration.

Immigration of Southern non-whites cannot be determined directly from the Census. However, it can be assumed that a majority of the individuals categorized by the Census as migrating from the South to the South End are non-white. In the period between 1955 and 1960 the number of these amounted to 1174 individuals, or a net average of about 200 each year. A simple projection of this trend yields a 1970 total for this group of about 3200, and for 1980, of 5200.

Map III, Page 21, indicates the 1960 distribution of Southern immigrants by Census Tracts.

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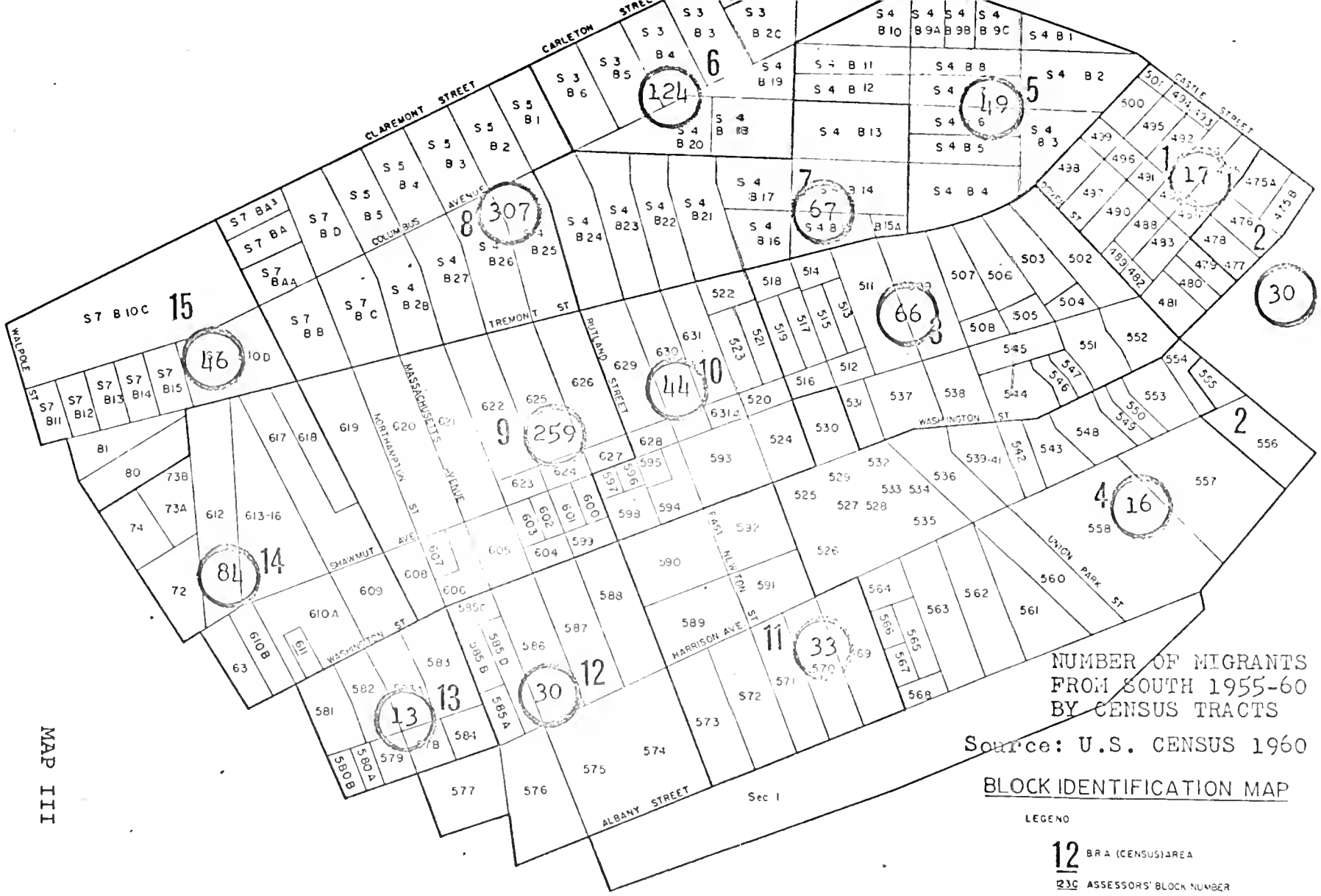
1. Ibid



MAP III

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BASIC PRESENT AND FUTURE DEMAND FOR FACILITIES

The demand for facilities must agin be distinguished from the need for them. Need, when it is articulated by the newcomers, is most frequently for specific services or financial help, not for facilities. Needs may not be articulated or even admitted by the newcomers. The demand for facilities is therefore a function of publicizing available facilities and motivating the people to use them. Coordination and referral might well be a function of the proposed South End Renewal Information Center and, with proper leadership and a program to motivate the newcomers, a heavy demand for the facility can be reasonably predicted.

If current migration trends continue, there will also be a significant demand for referral information on the part of the Southern non-white migrants.

3) PROBLEM FAMILIES

TYPES OF PROBLEM FAMILIES IN THE SOUTH END AND THEIR PROBLEMS

All chronic problem families are characterized by an arrested emotional development and an inability to cope with reality. They usually fail to respond with improvement to the usual kinds of services.

Their problems are broadly these:

1. A long history of difficulties in many spheres of basic family functioning: employment, housing, food, religion, schooling, physical and emotional health..
2. The tendency to complete isolation from neighbors or constant conflict with neighbors and the community at large.

Other problems are created by the reaction of the community:

1. Families are negatively stereotyped.
2. Agencies either shut off help or refuse outright to help.

3. Families are either excluded from or drinven from neighborhoods.

4. Often they face eviction.

5. Often they are over punished in other ways by agencies.

TREATMENT OF PROBLEM FAMILIES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SPECIAL COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Problem families require more intensive and persistent follow-up by agencies and more direct offers of service through repeated home-visiting and "reaching-out" than other kinds of families. Visits in the home are most effective. When they must be in the office, the office should ideally be close at hand. The trip downtown literally frightens many parents.

Treatment may be considered any form of planned interaction which may take place between social agency workers and families. Obtaining new housing, giving food in an emergency, tutoring, counseling, psychiatric and casework treatment, placing a child on probation - all such activities designed to foster change for the better are considered part of the treatment.

Since coordination of services is so essential for the successful treatment of problem families, it is suggested that a permanent professional coordinating center to handle problem families be established. It need not be in the South End, since it is not expected that it would be used for office visits. Such visits might make use of facilities proposed for the community center.

During the urban renewal process in the South End, however, it is expected that sizeable numbers of problem families, previously unknown to agencies, will be uncovered. It is strongly recommended that a temporary social referral field office be established in the

South End Renewal Information Center, and that this office be staffed by professional social workers to diagnose and prescribe assistance needed by these problem families at a period of crisis in their lives caused by renewal. If the problem family is neglected at this crucial juncture, he will merely be driven on to another neighborhood and will add one more failure to a long list.

Often all that will be needed to help these families in the South End is an allowance of funds to pay rent and the use of housekeeping assistance. A family's staying in the South End may be the turning point for it and may mean the difference between beginning a process of rehabilitation or continuing to receive diffuse, fragmented assistance which accomplishes little.

PRESENT AND FUTURE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE INVOLVED AND THE DEMAND FOR FACILITIES

It is next to impossible to determine the number of problem families now residing in the South End and even more difficult to predict future numbers. One social worker in the South End[1] estimates that about 10% of the families in the housing project in which he provides social work services are chronic problem families. Because of the low income requirements to gain admission to public housing, this figure is probably higher than for that of the South End as a whole. The number of problem families in the South End is probably between 5 and 10% of all families.

Demand for services and facilities on the part of this group cannot be predicted because so much depends on the ability of workers to reach out to create the desire and the capacity of problem families to improve.

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1. Mr. Al Boer, USES

4) EMPLOYMENT

As is clear from the preceding description of the problem groups, employment problems are common to all.

The unemployed persons within the elderly groups are of two types. First, there are those who are forced into retirement because of low skills, and second, there are those who are unemployed due to illness. This latter group consists for the most part of persons over 65 years of age; hence, retraining for gainful employment does not seem feasible. On the other hand, the former group is composed of persons in the 45 to 65 age group who are still capable of work--and in most cases, able to be retrained.

The greater part of those persons in the Newcomer and minority groups, if employed at all, are employed in low-skilled occupations. In these groups especially, the ranks of the unemployed and unemployable are swelled by the high percentage of high school dropouts. The South End ranks highest in the ratio of dropouts in the city.

The recommended solution to the employment problems is to train or retrain those workers possessing low skills. However, before any additional facilities are appropriated or provided, (e.g. training centers, work shops, classrooms, etc.) there must be developed an active program and professional staff to carry on the job of retraining.

At the present time, evening trade extension programs are carried on through the Boston School Committee at public high schools and trade schools. However, the greater part of this program is directed at young persons of high school age or slightly older who are already employed in a particular trade and wish to obtain additional or higher level skills in their trade. Presently, there

are seven part-time cooperative schools in Boston. These programs allow persons to work in their trade half-time and attend school half-time.

The recent enactment of the Manpower Training Act can be of significant importance to persons in the South End as well as other depressed areas throughout Massachusetts. Although this program does not make grants for developing physical facilities for training, it does provide funds to trainees up to 52 weeks while they are in training. In addition, funds for staffing the programs are available. A prerequisite for obtaining federal funds under the Act is the presence of satisfactory physical facilities and a framework for administering it and carrying on an active program. With federal money available the demand for training workers is expected to increase. However, problems still exist in recruiting persons wanting and able to be retrained. The South End is in a position to benefit from this program through provision of adequate physical facilities to house a portion of the Boston program. Any program in the South End should include training in both "blue collar" trades and "white collar" clerical jobs, for in the "white collar" occupations lie the best chance for South End workers to raise their status and sustain employment. Propsects for "white collar" jobs seem much brighter than prospects in "blue collar" occupations; hence, retraining in "white collar" jobs may in the future bring greater and more secure employment opportunities to trainees.

In the future, the ratio of low skilled, newcomers and elderly persons is expected to increase in the South End. Hence, the employment problems will become somewhat more pronounced for the area as a whole unless an active program is initiated, 1) to establish

a framework with which to administer services such as counseling, training, and placement, and 2) to motivate persons to help themselves or to seek help. It must be recognized that the program and staff are factors of first importance, while the existence of physical facilities is secondary and would be provided at a time when the magnitude of the program demonstrates the need for additional facilities.

Although space needs for a comprehensive job retraining program in the South End cannot be spelled out specifically (e.g., in terms of land area and square feet of floor space), the kind or types of space needed can be delineated. First, office space is necessary for conducting the program and providing counseling service to prospective trainees. In most cases these offices need not be large. Second, classrooms are needed for certain phases of instruction. Existing classrooms in public schools or proposed classrooms in a Junior High School or a Vocational Trade School would supply the greatest bulk of this particular need; however, additional classrooms might be provided for adult retraining carried on during regular school hours. Additional classrooms would, of course, depend on the magnitude of a daytime program. Third, workrooms or shops are needed for both instruction in trades and clerical jobs. The rooms or shops could necessarily be larger in order to house such things as machinery and tools for the trades and office machinery, typewriters, etc. for clerical training.

Improving the job skills of South End residents and informing them of available opportunities for employment is of great importance to the success of the urban renewal program as a whole. Since much of the South End program depends on rehabilitation, raising the potential earning power of the residents in the area becomes a

factor of basic importance in order that present residents are capable of supporting and sustaining community improvement.

5) SKID ROW

Unique to the South End and yet representing a concentration of all of the characteristic problems of the area is the problem of skid row. *

The skid rows of today are physically characterized by very dilapidated buildings and marginal businesses. The uses are geared to serve men who are in the lowest income scale in the country. The area provides inexpensive sleeping accommodations in concentrations of "bird cage" hotels (cubicles) and rooming houses. Low cost meals (averaging between .25 and .75) are available in restaurants and cafeterias. Missions provide free lodging and food for those who cannot afford anything else. A profusion of bars, taverns, and places of entertainment exists in skid row areas. Other enterprises which seem to characterize a skid row area include: barber college second-hand clothing and furniture stores, employment offices, pawn shops, stores selling men's work clothing, and pool rooms.

SKID ROW RESIDENT CLASSIFICATION:

1. Elderly or physically disabled men -- unable to work or retired; living on pensions, public assistance, or private aid.

2. Semi-settled or settled working men -- employed or not-employed, but seeking work; usually work at unskilled or low-paying jobs and are permanent residents of the area, although they may frequently move from one hotel or rooming house to another.

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* For a more complete treatment of this problem and the methods and proposed solutions in Boston and other cities, see the separately published Study of Skid Row by Jean MacCarthy Marshall, and for figures on present agencies and facilities, refer to the Action for Boston Community Development Study.

3. Migratory workers -- seasonal or temporary workers on railroad gangs, farm harvest laborers, or other migratory workers who come to the city between jobs to spend the winter, or to get a temporary job before moving on to another place.

4a. Transient "bums" -- wander from one place to another and make their living by begging and seeking help from charitable organizations in preference to work; stay in town only for a short time before moving on.

4b. Resident "bums" -- semi-settled or settled pan-handlers or other shiftless men who are physically able but choose not to work.

5. Criminals and men engaged in illegal enterprises -- professional thieves, gamblers and confidence men.

6. Chronic alcoholics -- men who have passed beyond the excessive drinking stage and who cannot control their drinking enough to hold a job or care for themselves. These men are arrested repeatedly for drunkenness or disorderly conduct.

Subgroups:

a) Physically rehabilitable alcoholics, with no mental illness nor major physical handicaps that would prevent working.

b) Physically rehabilitable alcoholics, mentally ill -- without major physical handicaps or poor health that would prevent working, but with symptoms of mental illness.

c) Chronic alcoholics -- unable to work -- elderly or physically disabled men including derelicts with irreparable alcoholic and mental deterioration.

AGE:

The skid row population is considerably older than adults in the general population: 34% are between 20 and 44 years; 49% between 45 and 64; and 17% are 65 and over. Thus, about 66% of the skid row population is over 45 years of age.

RECEIPT OF PENSION OR PUBLIC AID:

Even though the skid row area is composed of the poorest men physically, mentally, and/or economically, 53% of the men receive no form of aid for their support. Public assistance provides most of the aid (22%) to the receipient population (47% of total). This is

a considerable draw on the taxpayer.

INCOME:

Whereas the median income in the U. S. for the 14 year old and over category is $3,684, the median for the men on skid row is $1,083. Those men who do find work usually hold the lowest paying jobs in the economy. The income distribution is broken down as follows:

Total Income	% of Population	
Under $500	13.1	46.3
$500-1,000	33.2	
$1,000-1,500	17.1	
$1,500-2,000	10.2	
$2,000-2,500	8.8	
$2,500-3,500	10.6	
$3,500 and over	7.0	

EDUCATION:

Unlike the popular conception, skid row is not primarily composed of illiterates - only 3% of the population has had no formal schooling. Almost 57% have had some form of grade school education (30% have had 8 years of grade school) and an additional 34% have had from 1 to 4 years of high school, with 13% having completed four years. The number of of highly educated who deteriorate from excessive drinking is small (only 6%). Thus skid row has a very small percentage on each end of the scale, but the majority of the residents have had some form of education which should have prepared them for better jobs than they now have.

OCCUPATION:

All skid rows are characterized by a unique kind of employment -- the "spot job", or temporary day work. This type of work is one of the important economic functions of skid row. There are disproportionately few craftsmen, skilled workmen, semi-skilled factory operatives and sales workers. The major sources of employment are:

Restaurants
Large Department Stores
Factories
Warehouses
Railroad (track maintenance men)
Trucking firms and freight handlers
Advertising firms (bill peddlers)
Garage and filling stations (car washers)
Skid row hotels (janitors and porters)
Bowling Alleys (pin setters)
Hospitals (kitchen and clean up help)
Religious organizations

MARITAL STATUS:

The marital status of the skid row men differs quite radically from the pattern of the general population. It is, moreover, one of the most important social reasons for the formation of this grouping of homeless men - some men didn't or couldn't marry, others have separated or divorced, while still others have been widowed. The largest proportion of the group never married (44%) and the smallest is still married (3%); of the men who did marry, 13% are separated, 11% are widowed, and 29% are divorced. The proportion of single men among the skid row population is about four times as great as among the general population and divorce is nine times as prevalent.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE:

Unlike the popular conception, the skid row area is composed primarily of non-transient persons.

DRINKING CLASSIFICATION:

Teetotaler - never drinks 14.8%

Light drinker - spends less than 15% of income, drinks less than 3 pints/week 28.3%

Moderate drinker - spends between 15 and 25% of income, drinks 3-5 pints/week 24.4%

Heavy drinker - spends 25% and more of income, drinks 6 pints/week or more 19.9%

Alcoholic derelict - heavy drinker with 10 or more arrests for drunkenness and having at least one of the following 12.6%

a) health condition attributed to prolonged drinking;
b) has had delirium tremors one or more times;
c) spends 65% or more of his income on drinking;
d) has been in hospital one or more times as a result of drunkenness.

CHARACTERISTICS OF DRINKERS:

(1) Age - Between the ages of 20 and 44 years, over 45% of the men are either alcoholic derelicts or heavy drinkers. The men over 55 years of age are predominately teetotalers or light drinkers (over 60%). The reasons for this pattern are that the young men only come to skid row if they have a drinking problem; heavy drinkers die prematurely; and men who dislike skid row do not drink heavily and are not forced to live there until they become older and cannot live elsewhere.

(2) Education - The men with the most education tend to be the heaviest drinkers, whereas the least educated are teetotalers or light drinkers. This is somewhat due to age patters (the youngest tend to have more years of formal education), but even when the effect of age is controlled, the highest percentage of heavy drinkers are still the more educated men.

(3) Marital Status - The widowed men tend to be teetotalers or light drinkers, while the divorced or separated tend to be heavy drinkers.

(4) Employment Status - The teetotaler tends to be a man who is not able to work and the light to moderate drinker usually has a steady job. The heavy drinker is the spot job man or is not employed at all. The alcoholic derelict

is also not employed quite often by his choice, although sometimes by the employer's choice.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HANDICAPPED AND THE ILL:

(1) Disability - This estimate is oriented toward the men's capacity to do the physical labor of operatives, service workers, and unskilled laborers (the type most needed on a spot job basis):

Too old to work	8.8%
Unable to work	1.5%
Severely handicapped	9.4%
Moderately handicapped	26.8%
Slightly handicapped	25.1%
Not handicapped	28.4%

Solely on the basis of physical health, 90% are capable of doing at least some gainful work to help support themselves. This implies the notion to be false that skid row is populated predominately by helpless cripples and men too sickly to be rehabilitated. However, more of the residents in skid row are physically handicapped than is the proportion in the general population; that is, more than 50% of the population is physically handicapped to the extent that at least some measure of special consideration is necessary on the part of the employer before he can provide employment.

(2) Illness - When account is made of the age composition of the skid row population, illness has roughly 2.0 to 2.5 times the disabling effect upon the skid row residents as upon the male population generally, that is, sickness causes skid row men to stay away from work or to avoid looking for work at the rate of 53 days/year. Moreover, on any working day in midwinter, slightly more than 20% of all workmen on skid row are away from work because of illness.

A more general description of the residents in the South End skid row area would be to characterize them in three categories - those who must live on skid row because they are so poor (43%), those who live there as potential alcoholics (24%), and those who live there because they drink quite heavily (23%). The very poor group is composed of the following:

Elderly men, no drinking problem		11.9%
Non-alcoholic, employed.		14.9%
Non-alcoholic, not employed		16.3%
Disabled.	9.7%	
Not disabled	6.6%	

The heavy drinkers are characterized as those who are problem drinkers (20%) but not yet derelicts, and those who are alcoholic derelicts (13%).

THE PROCEDURE FOR THE ULTIMATE ELIMINATION OF THE SOUTH END SKID ROW

As the above description of the characteristics of the skid row area shows, the population is amazingly diverse with no single variety of homeless men predominating. This predicates that no solution for helping these men and thus improving the whole South End could be accomplished by treating the skid row area as <u>one social entity</u>. A realistic program actually must be a combination of a series of <u>separate programs</u> which are needed for <u>each</u> of the <u>several groups</u>. These programs must combine both welfare and housing resources to be effective.

The ultimate elimination of the South End skid row is possible and can be achieved through careful planning and concerted action. The renewal of the whole city of Boston offers this opportunity. There need be no emergence of another skid row during clearance and rehousing of these men if there are effective programs treating

psychological, social, medical and vocational problems, and if the housing code is strongly enforced throughout the city.

THE PROGRAM FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE SKID ROW AREA IN THE SOUTH END

Any program for the virtual elimination of skid row requires that planned systematic physical clearance shrink the present size of the area while at the same time eliminate some of the worst residents to more appropriate or to upgraded housing depending on their needs.

It is proposed that the first phase in the program eventually to eliminate the South End skid row area be an immediate action phase of demolition of the worst buildings with the relocation of some of the residents. During this period of demolition of the worst rooming houses and cubicle hotels, the housing code should be rigorously enforced to prevent the movement of the displaced men southward to the Lower Roxbury area. Those buildings which do not comply with the code should be demolished. The relocation personnel should emphasize the rehousing of the non-alcoholic public welfare recipients and elderly pensioners in areas away from the present skid row area. This group should be easiest to relocate, since they do not have an alcoholic problem and are receiving some form of income. Agencies who are concerned with finding housing for the low income homeless man and the elderly should be encouraged to pool their resources. Housing available would include public housing, foster home care, old age homes, nursing homes, and shared apartments or single rooms with eating facilities. This housing should be near institutions which provide day programs for these people or near settlement houses which have daytime social groups. Encouragement should be given to the development of senior centers for the elderly men.

These men scheduled for relocation in the first phase probably will not all be located in the housing scheduled for demolition. However, their removal from the other housing would free some rooms for those in the demolished housing who are not being relocation at this time.

In conjunction with this action program, it seems essential to recommend that a Central Agency be established to coordinate the activities of both the private and public agencies dealing with skid row. This Agency could direct a program of remedial services to all skid row residents by referring them to the appropriate agency. By this process they could aid in the removal of those elements of skid row whose primary problems transcend the need for decent housing. These men would be screened for medical, psychological, and financial evaluations before their referral to an appropriate agency.

It is further proposed that a second phase follow the above which would be concerned with long term planning, integration, and coordination for rehabilitating and relocating the remaining men. This emphasis is extremely necessary, since the core of the rehousing problem in skid row consists of those men who need combined housing and welfare assistance. This second phase would seek to increase the economic independence of the remaining skid row residents (most of whom should be able to do some kind of work since the elderly men who are too old or physically unfit have been removed from the area) through medical, psychological, and occupational rehabilitation. This program must be phased over several years as new programs and facilities are developed to replace the present inadequate services.

SUMMARY

Any improvement in the South End skid row area cannot be achieved without a careful program for relocating and rehabilitating the residents of the area. The relocation process, as it relates to skid row, should begin as far as possible in advance of actual redevelopment programs for the area. The program calls for greater cooperation and coordination between municipal planning, housing, and redevelopment agencies and the various public and private welfare agencies.

Specifically the program calls for:

(1) The establishment of a Central Agency which will coordinate and direct the work of the various agencies in treating and relocating the residents of skid row. This Bureau will be the central referral agency for skid row men to reduce their dependency and alleviate their problems. Problem subgroups to be treated or referred by the center would include the psychotic, senile, and chronically ill, the handicapped and ill. Programs of treatment would include the following:

Vocational rehabilitation and training.
Medical treatment.
Treatment for alcoholism.
Institutionalization for those who need it.
Care for the elderly and handicapped.

(2) The provision of decent, safe, and sanitary rehousing for the residents of skid row based on their needs and within their means. This would include:

Immediate rehousing for the elderly pensioner in existing public or private nursing homes, foster homes, old age homes, and standard low rent rooms.

Provision of public housing or housing under Federal Loans - housing for the elderly and low income working man.

Construction of primary treatment centers and half-way houses for alcoholics.

Erection of a public or private shelter for the temporarily destitute and the migrant worker.

The upgrading of existing structures on skid row for those who will not live elsewhere.

(3) The redevelopment of the present skid row areas through:

The use of a project plan for the area.

Gradual acquisition and demolition of the worst structures.

Systemized and intensified code enforcement.

New construction and rezoning.

Licensing restrictions on liquor establishments.

(4) Programs of prevention which will further decrease skid row as an entity or as a necessity. These include the following:

Community programs for mental health.

Increased welfare and Social Security payments and minimum wage law compliance to decrease poverty.

Community programs for medical care.

6) CRIME

Given the social problems and problem groups of the South End, it is not surprising that this area shows a concentration of recorded crimes that is significantly high in comparison to the total amount of crime in the City of Boston.

The FBI classifies crime in two categories. Part I crimes include homocide, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, and larceny. Crimes classified under Part II are narcotics, prostitution, forgery, carrying of weapons, offenses against family and children, drunkenness, embesslement, etc. This classification is used by the Boston City Police, who also use a more elaborate breakdown of crime by type, location, and time of day for all areas within the city except for land administered by the M. D. C. (Refer to Code Book and Guide to Uniform Crime Reporting).

Table I shows the percentage of crimes in the City of Boston that are committed in the South End.

TABLE I

	Total South End	Total City of Boston
Part I Crimes	10.2%	100%
Part II Crimes	19.6%	100%
Part I & II	16%	100%

Maps IV and V, Pages 40 and 41, show the percentage distribution of Part I and II crimes in the South End based on information from the Boston City Police Statistical Branch, Headquarters 154 Berkeley St.

In an interview, Captain Herbert Malhoney in charge of Station 4 (South End and South Cove) discussed what he considered to be the chief crime problems and their location. This information is given in Map VI, Page 42, the shaded areas referring to places where Captain Malhoney would provide additional policemen if possible.

SOUTH END URBAN RENEWAL AREA

0 200 400 600 800 1000

SCALE
APRIL 1962
DRAWING NUMBER R 56

MAP VI

SOUTH END URBAN RENEWAL AREA

BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

SCALE APRIL 1962 DRAWING NUMBER R 56

Captain Malhoney feels that among the most acute problems is that of prostitution, which extends through several areas of the South End. Arrangements for meeting with prostitutes are generally made in the West Springfield and Worcester Street areas. The houses of prostitution, however, are primarily located in the Castle Square - Braddock Street area. These houses are not maintained at the same addresses for very long, which makes law enforcement difficult. Also, the courts apparently look lightly on prostitution, and it is believed the penalties nowhere nearly approach the amount of money which is made.

Prostitution creates crime linkages, so that muggings and stealing are frequent in the area of the pick-ups. The bars in this area, along Tremont Street and Columbus Avenue also serve as meeting places for criminal activities.

Although the statistics presented in Maps IV and V do not correspond exactly with Captain Malhoney's impressions, when they are combined, two of the most acute problem areas can be established. The worst is an area running parallel to Massachusetts Avenue between Columbus and Harrison Avenues, extending three blocks on both sides. The other is Castle Square and a few blocks beyond it. Between these areas the problem is less severe but by no means negligible. The edges of the project seem to be relatively good except opposite Castle Square in the South Cove project area. There are few areas in the South End that are free from crime, and these areas are either institutional or industrial in character and use.

The large quantity and widespread rate of crime in the South End demand many faceted and decisive actions. The greatest opportunity for urban renewal lies in breaking up the facilities that create crime linkages. For example, bars, cheap hotels, and liquor

outlets which could be decreased in number and/or relocated on a very selective basis within the South End itself. Also, the current shape of public space in the South End including dark streets and alleys provide fertile ground for the committing of crimes. This unsatisfactory pattern of public space can be counteracted by sensitive design in urban renewal planning. Finally, derelict housing (in most cases owned by absentee landlords) should be eliminated, for it provides cheap and anonymous shelter for gambling, prostitution, and narcotics consumption.

Even if these problem points could be corrected through renewal, there is still no guarantee that the high crime rate in the South End would be reduced. In fact, the fundamental problems cannot be solved without profound and long range social renewal. The South End is condoned and used as a place for vice and crime by the residents of the City of Boston. Hence, community attitudes are yet another aspect of the need for social renewal. Although the time span for such social renewal is well beyond that of physical renewal, the need for the latter is critical if the crime problem of the South End is to be solved.

IB CONVENTIONAL COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Introduction

Community facilities provide two principal functions

1) Serve the people by fulfilling their needs

2) Act as a significant design element in the structure of the Community

In order to serve the people, community facilities should reflect the nature and the composition of the area in which they are located. The site of the facility should take into consideration the use required and its accessibility to the people.

Community facilities can also provide a framework upon which the structure of the community can be designed. Well located and well designed facilities can serve two functions,-giving identity to the community, and providing common meeting places where people can interact.

This report will propose new facilities according to the particular needs of the people in the South End. In addition, a general framework for the location and/or design of the facilities will also be suggested.

CLASSIFICATION OF COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Community facilities can be classified in the following categories:

1) By Function:

a) Educational facilities cover a wide age group thus different facilities are needed at different stages in the formal education of children and for informal cultural betterment of the adults.

Following is a list of educational facilities in sequence of their need:

(1) Nursery school - age 3 to 4

(2) Elementary school - age 5 to 11
(3) Junior High School - age 12 to 14
(4) High School and Trade School - 14 and over
(5) Adult education
(6) Library

b) Recreation facilities also serve different age groups and thus should be specialized in character, but unlike educational facilities they can be grouped together on the same site.

Following is a list of recreational facilities:

(1) Tot lot - age 3 to 7
(2) Playground - age 5 to 12
(3) Playfield - age 15 and over
(4) Sitting Park
(5) Neighborhood Park
(6) Community Center

c) Security services are public facilities used to safeguard persons and property in the community.

Following is a list of services provided by the City:

(1) Police Stations
(2) Fire Stations
(3) Health and Welfare Units
(4) Hospitals

2) By responsible agency:

Facilities do not necessarily have to be sponsored by public agencies; private agencies e. g. churches and citizen groups, build and maintain both educational and recreational facilities to be used by the public. A cooperative effort between public and private agencies can also be workable e. g. Boys Clubs using a school abandoned by the city.

3) By persons served:

This category can be subdivided as follows:

a) Facilities to serve a specific group of persons who share a common characteristic and need e. g. the elderly or elementary school children.

Table I lists in detail identifiable groups in the South End, their size and their needs.

b) Facilities to serve a diverse grouping of people without regard to age, familial or economic status.

c) Facilities to serve the individual by providing solitude and an opportunity to do things alone and in privacy.

This is an often neglected category of facilities and merits at least some consideration along with activities of a more social nature.

4) By area served:

Certain facilities are able to serve only a small sub-area or neighborhood while others may serve the whole South End or the entire city. The size of the service area depends on the following factors:

(a) The mobility of users.
(b) Frequency of use.
(c) The "market area" required to support the facility at its most efficient size.

STANDARDS FOR CONVENTIONAL COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Conventional facilities are those provided by municipal governmental agencies. This section of the report concentrates primarily on conventional facilities. However, special facilities are discussed when they are closely related to the conventional facilities in either location or function. For example, there is a functional relationship between nursery schools and tot lots, in terms of location and use.

Standards for the location, size, and number of various conventional community facilities have been published by a number of authorities. The following were chosen for reference purposes: APHA (Modified for regional core study), Local Planning Administration, Profile for Planning by UCS, General Plan for Boston 1950, and the Sargent Report. From the previous sources standards were adopted for the special characteristics of the South End. The

Sargent Report was the primary source for educational facilities. Table II lists the recommendations made by the above authorities along with the standards adopted for the South End.

The South End has special characteristics that influenced the determination of the standards. Following are two of the major characteristics and their impact on facility standards.

1) The radius of the area to be served is small in the South End due to the high density of the population, 180-200 persons per net acre.

2) The size of the facility site is limited by the intensive use required of the land. For example, a two-story school is preferrable to a one-story building. Playfields and playgrounds are also used intensively by using the same facility for two purposes e.g. football fields are also used for baseball in the summer. It is also recommended that two or more facilities be grouped together on one site thus economizing further on land requirement.

DISTRIBUTION OF FACILITIES BASED ON EXISTING POPULATION

The distribution of community facilities and the selection of sites is based on weighing the optimum service area of the facility, the linkages between different facilities, and available sites.

Table III lists the recommendations for each category by comparing the requirements to the existing usable inventory of facilities.

The following recommendations are listed by functional categories.

1) Educational Facilities

a) Nursery schools - Although this function does not qualify as a conventional facility, it's needed in the South End

because of the large number of children (250) between three and four left unattended at home because of working mothers.

Presently, there are two schools - a cooperative school at the South Bay Union and a school sponsored by the Morgan Memorial. Both of these schools serve fifty children, therefore, a demand exists for serving the remaining two hundred children.

To realize this proposal, the following two recommendations are suggested:

1. The City should provide a site for sale to a private agency for the construction of a nursery school, and/or

2. The City can furnish a facility such as a rehabilitated or a discontinued former facility for use as a nursery school by a private agency, the title of the building remaining with the City.

b) Elementary school - According to the Sargent Report three elementary schools are needed. This need is valid in the light of present statistics (1500 pupils to be served by new facilities).

The sites chosen by this section also agree with the Sargent Report except in the case of the school replacing the Bancroft. The new site should be further west to have a more efficient service radius. Map VII shows the areas requiring a new elementary school facility.

c) Junior High Schools - Construction of a centrally located Junior High School is recommended to serve the South End students and to serve as a facility for adult education programs, especially those of

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL RECOMMENDATION

SOUTH END URBAN RENEWAL AREA

BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

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language classes for Puerto Ricans and the other foreign-born South End residents.

A new library, which is needed to replace the present inefficient facilities, might be incorporated within the Junior High School complex.

This combination of services and programs would make the construction of a new facility preferable to the conversion of an already existing facility.

2) Recreational Facilities

a) Tot lots - Presently there are ten tot lots in the South End but they are either obsolete in equipment provided or in areas where they are not needed. By dividing the residential area of the South End into four block areas, it was found that eight new tot lots were needed. These lots may be developed within block interiors or in combination with playgrounds.

b) Sitting Parks - As above, it is suggested that the sitting park facilities be combined with other facilities thereby giving elderly residents and other adults the opportunity to mix with younger age groups.

c) Playgrounds - Presently, there are three playgrounds in the South End. Two of the playgrounds - the Rotch and the Carter playgrounds are too far from the residential area to be used efficiently. The new playgrounds should be adjoining or near the elementary schools.

d) Neighborhood Parks - A system of neighborhood parks is needed to give major sub-areas a focus and thus create

e) Playfields - Playfield space is needed to serve the South End. This space can be used for a dual purpose 1) to serve as an educational facility during school hours and 2) to serve all residents of the South End after school hours. It is suggested that a playfield in conjunction with the Junior High School and Community Center be provided. The Carter playfield (now existing) might in part serve a proposed Trade High School or other institutional use in this area.

f) Community Center - The Community Center will be part of a high activity area in the South End. It is suggested that the following facilities be included in the complex: a junior high school, a playfield, a community activities building, a swimming pool, a playground, and a tot lot. A site near the center of the South End would be preferred, thus the area near the O'Day playground and including the four churches in that area is recommended.

3) Health, Safety and Welfare facilities.

a) Police Station - This facility is outlined in A Preliminary Plan for Urban Renewal in the South End, B.R.A. June 1962. Since this facility is serving the South End and Downtown the present site is adequate.

b) Fire Stations - These facilities are outlined in the same report mentioned above. These facilities are adequate and their locations serve the South End adequately.

c) Municipal Building - The present facility is adequately serving the South End and could be a part of the

proposed community complex providing the following facilities: an auditorium, public showers, a gymnasium and two floors for activity rooms in the area vacated by the library department.

d) Health Unit - This facility is outlined in the preliminary plan mentioned above. The facility is being intensively used by the South End and is located in the proximity of City Hospital.

INCREMENTS OF COMMUNITY FACILITY DEMANDS BASED ON PROJECTED POPULATION GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

The population of the South End will decrease from 33,735 people to approximately 30,000 people (assuming housing demand is met). This decrease in population is not distributed evenly amongst all age groupings. The elementary school age population is expected to increase, proportionally, due to the increase in Puerto Rican and other "Newcomer" families in the South End.

Following is a table showing school age population projection:

	1960	1970
0 - 4	2557	2260
5 - 10	2444	2340
11 - 13	1103	970
14 - 17	1235	1300
	7339	6870

DESIGN CRITERIA IN FACILITY LOCATION

The South End has no clear identity as a residential area. The mixed character of residential, commercial and industrial area along with its repetitive street pattern help confuse residents as well as non-residents of the South End. It is therefore imperative to to create a strong community element to achieve a physical sense of

community organization. It is further suggested that the large area be divided into sub-areas, each having an identity through common use of their own cluster of community facilities. Finally, it is recommended that sub-areas be linked through the use of other activity elements (e.g., pedestrian ways, streets, commercial use, open space, recreational facilities).

Table IV presents ways of distributing facilities.

II THE HOUSING MARKET AND PROSPECTS FOR GROWTH AND CHANGE IN SOUTH END

1. THE EXISTING HOUSING MARKET

The housing market in the South End today, as in the past, consists of special groups who cannot easily find housing or live elsewhere. On the positive side, the South End attracts many people because of the abundance of low rent housing, proximity to downtown, the special services and facilities available there, and the anonymity of the area which makes the non-conformist feel at home. Then for many (particularly the elderly) residence in South End is simply a matter of inertia.

OCCUPANCY

Present South End units house 15,675 tenant families (91%) and 1,572 owner families (9%), another 3,200 units being vacant. This is the highest rate of tenant occupancy in the city. Tenants are slightly more numerous proportionately in the lower family sizes and lower income levels (see income and family size table

MOBILITY

Most tenants are highly mobile, their average stay in the area being less than five years. Owners move much less frequently. Of South End 1960 population, 55 per cent had moved since 1955 compared with 49 per cent for Boston. And mobility has increased in the South End in recent years. Between 1958 and 1960, 38 per cent of the 1960 population had moved into South End compared to 31 per cent of the city, whereas the percentage of 1960 population which had moved prior to 1958 was about the same for South End as for Boston.*

RACE

In racial composition non-whites comprise 41 per cent of the population and 36 per cent of the households.*

white owner units	962	8.7%	
white tenant units	10,091	91.3%	
white units	11,053	100.0%	64.1
non-white owner units	610	9.8%	
non-white tenant units	5,584	90.2%	
non-white units	6,194	100.0%	35.9
total occupied units	17,247		100.0

Of the 13,700 non-whites, 96 per cent are Negro, the rest being mostly persons of Chinese extraction.* Non-whites have larger families, since 54 per cent of all persons under 20 are non-white.*

FAMILY SIZE

One and two person families comprise 80 per cent of total families in South End, and large families are in much lower proportion than in typical neighborhoods. Some 60 per cent of all housing units are occupied by individuals (mostly men) living alone. The census gives the following family size breakdown:

	South End*		Boston*
units occupied by 1 person	10,459	60.7%	24.6%
by 2 persons	3,337	19.3%	30.2%
by 3 persons	1,247	7.2%	16.8%
by 4 persons	921	5.3%	13.4%
by 5 persons	521	3.0%	8.7%
by 6 or more	740	4.3%	9.5%
	17,225		

INCOME

In 1959 the following income breakdown in number of families (exclusive of unrelated individuals) and percent was recorded by the census:*

Income Group	South End		
under 1,000	599	9.1%	3.47%
1000-1999	973	14.8%	5.74%
2000-2999	1115	16.9%	7.45%
3000-3999	954	14.5%	9.90%
4000-4999	884	13.4%	12.37%
5000-5999	745	11.3%	14.80%
6000-6999	446	6.8%	11.60%
7000-7999	297	4.5%	9.18%
8000-8999	170	2.6%	6.93%
9000-9999	136	2.0%	4.95%
10,000-14,999	240	3.6%	10.27%
over 15,000	31	.5%	3.31%
Total	6590	100.0%	100.0%

METHOD

The following figures on family size, income, and average rent were derived from the BRA family survey. In the income by family size table (p. 57) all classes of occupancy are included, whereas in the preceding table, derived from the census, unrelated individuals (who comprise 2/3 of total households) are included. The survey covered a disporportionately high number of owner occupants because that group is more frequently at home in the daytime. Therefore a correction factor was applied to the tenant group to achieve the proper tenant-owner relationship (10 to 1) as measured by the census. No similar correction was needed for racial composition, the white-non-white relation closely approximating that of the census. The BRA survey being only a 10 per cent sample, it was then necessary to bring all occupied units up to the census figure of 17,247 by applying a second factor.

A "family" in this table consists of the occupants of a dwelling unit, even though unrelated. Income figures of the table are strictly the gross annual incomes reported in the survey. The only estimating of incomes was for the recipients of social security and public welfare who did not report figures (6 per cent of the sample). No other adjustments were made to income figures.

All income figures should be considered as a little low because (1) many families with a second or unearned income did not report this, (2P some families with two or more wage earners reported the earnings of only one, (3) earnings from rents were not included as income, since only gross rents were reported, (4) persons of low income tend to be unemployed or partially employed and therefore at home in greater number during the day, (5) many

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* from 1960 Census

elderly respondents probably receive aid from their children, and did not report it. Therefore, income figures should be raised across the board, perhaps 20 per cent.

FAMILY SIZE BY INCOME LEVEL**

Income Group	Persons per occupied unit 1	2	3	4	5	6 & over	Total	Percent
under 1,000	1,618	169	64	0	0	0	1,851	10.7
1000-1999	2,126	1,548	345	134	68	16	4,238	24.6
2000-2999	1,067	1,272	564	328	143	238	3,612	20.9
3000-3999	953	962	595	290	316	350	3,466	20.1
4000-4999	321	520	114	207	122	205	1,639	8.9
5000-5999	118	617	163	118	106	119	1,241	7.2
6000-6999	62	150	137	53	73	77	552	3.2
7000-7999	4	178	60	36	33	52	363	2.1
8000-8999	0	53	56	20	8	0	137	0.8
9000-9999	0	16	4	0	0	4	24	0.2
Over 10,000	16	40	16	4	20	24	120	0.7
Total	6,269	5,525	2,268	1,190	890	1,085	17,247	100.0

RENT LEVEL BY FAMILY SIZE**

Rent Level $	1	2	3	4	5	6/more	Total	Percent
under 30	172	8	14	2	-	10	206	1.3
30-39	645	70	6	10	-	-	731	4.7
40-49	1800	570	185	70	35	50	2710	17.3
50-59	990	890	185	90	70	70	2290	14.6
60-69	990	1200	590	315	185	215	3495	22.3
70-79	544	1030	487	358	186	230	2835	18.1
80-89	258	573	301	186	158	86	1562	10.0
90-99	15	215	157	43	57	129	616	3.9
100-109	40	130	29	57	30	72	358	2.3
110-119	10	98	44	18	55	4	229	1.4
over 120	7	8	18	10	29	28	100	.7
rent not given	215	143	86	10	46	30	530	3.4
Total	5686	4935	2102	1169	851	924	15662	100.0

**from BRA family survey, spring of 1962

2. CONSUMER PREFERENCES OF PRESENT RESIDENTS

(a) Preference for Location of Residence

In the BRA family survey, in response to the question, "where would you prefer to live?", the following results (expanded to represent total South End households) were obtained:

47 per cent preferred to remain in South End

24 per cent definitely wanted to leave the South End

29 per cent were undecided, indifferent, or would be satisfied with any Boston location.

Some of those who wanted to leave South End may not have the means to do so and some of those undecided or indifferent may in the end prefer to leave. These two imponderables may be assumed roughly to balance out. Assuming that the third group can largely be induced to remain if improvements are made, the potential market for South End housing may then be considered as the 77 per cent that does not definitely want to leave. The characteristics of this group are analyzed below.

(b) Race and Tenure

	preference groups			total population	
white owners	870	6.5%		6.2%	
white tenants	6873	51.5%		52.2%	
total whites	7743		58.0%		58.4%
non-white owners	447	3.3%		2.9%	
non-white tenants	5160	38.7%		38.7%	
total non-whites	5607		42.0%		41.6%
total owners	1317	9.8%		9.1%	
total tenants	12033	90.2%		90.9%	
total	13350		100.0%		100.0%

The above figures are from the BRA family survey, not the census, and therefore differ slightly from census race and tenure figures in Section 1. The only measurable difference between the preference group and total population is the slightly higher proportion of owners wishing to remain in South End. This is what one

would expect -- owners, having fixed investments in the area, would have less desire to leave it. In racial composition the preference group is very similar to that of the total population.

(c) Housing Type Preference

	Preference group	
private rental housing	8780	66%
private sales housing	2030	15%
public housing	1190	9%
no preference	1350	10%

The above figures from the BRA family survey represent preference and not necessarily ability to pay for particular housing types. Many of those preferring to buy have neither the means to buy nor the opportunity of finding a house in the South End to suit their needs. Most should be classed under rental preference. Most of those having no preference should be classed under rental, and perhaps some under public. The low preference for public housing reflects the widespread unpopularity of "project" living; much more than 9 per cent are eligible for public housing and would probably choose it if it could be made more attractive. Adjustment of the above raw preference figures might give, for private rentals 80%, sales 8%, and public 12%.

(d) Income and Family Size

In the following table income level and family size are shown for the 77 per cent of the population that either prefers the South End or is undecided, indifferent, or would be satisfied with any Boston location. The same method was used in developing these figures as those in the previous section on total population. Income figures of this group should also be considered on the low side because the biases apply as noted previously. With that one reservation, this table represents a reasonably close approximation

of the existing housing market by income and family size. From these figures can be developed quantities representing rent paying ability and unit size for each family.

Families eligible for public housing are indicated (very roughly) by the dashed line across this table - those falling above this line are eligible for federal aid public housing. These number about 75 per cent of total families.

Numbers of Families by Income and Family Size

	Persons per household							
Income level	1	2	3	4	5	6 & over	Total	Percent
under 1000	1085	201	54	0	0	0	1340	10.0
1000-1999	1550	1122	307	107	66	13	3165	23.7
2000-2999	820	1055	396	214	93	147	2725	20.4
3000-3999	840	670	401	240	160	279	2590	19.4
4000-4999	268	375	147	187	95	228	1300	9.8
5000-5999	136	547	144	107	67	174	1175	8.8
6000-6999	54	147	93	80	40	67	481	3.6
7000-7999	14	145	40	39	56	40	334	2.5
8000-8999	4	39	24	26	25	2	120	.9
9000-9999	0	13	12	2	1	12	40	.3
over 10,000	14	26	2	13	12	13	80	.6
Total	4785	4340	1620	1016	615	975	13350	100.0
Percent	35.9	32.5	12.1	7.6	4.6	7.3	100.0	

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF RECENT IN-MIGRANTS

Examination of the characteristics of recent migrants into the South End can help identify those changes (if any) to be expected in the near future. To do this, those families in the BRA family survey who moved into or within the project area during the past 5 years were analyzed separately from the rest of the sample.

These families are nearly all (97%) tenants, as one would expect in such a transient neighborhood where home ownership nearly always entails the purchase and operation of additional units to let. Half (49.7%) were non-whites, although in the total population only 36 per cent are non-white.

In housing type preference, a slightly greater percentage of In-migrants than that of the total population favors home ownership over renting:

	recent migrants		total families
prefer private rental	1667	57%	63%
prefer sales housing	590	20%	15%
prefer public housing	322	11%	9%
no housing type pref.	342	12%	10%

In family size the recent migrants are slightly more numerous among larger families and less among couples than with the total population:

	recent migrants	total families
1 person per unit	44.6%	44.5%
2 persons " "	24.1%	30.8%
3 " " "	7.7%	9.8%
4 " " "	6.8%	5.7%
5 " " "	6.0%	5.0%
6 " " "	6.0%	4.1%

The income composition of recent migrants, as shown in the folliwing table, is not appreciably different than that of the total population. Both are among the lowest in the city. The recent migrant groups in this survey were too small a sample to break down into income by family size characteristics, but this would not differ much from the total sample. With the influx of Puerto Ricans and other Latin Americans, there will probably be an increase at the bottom of the economic spectrum and near the top in family size.

income groups	recent migrants	total population
under 1000	6.8%	7.3%
1000-1999	24.1%	22.8%
2000-2999	18.5%	14.8%
3000-3999	15.6%	17.1%
4000-4999	9.2%	8.9%
5000-5999	4.4%	4.8%
6000-6999	3.6%	3.0%
7000-7999	2.4%	1.6%
8000-8999	.4%	.2%
9000-9999	.0%	.0%
over 10,000	.8%	.3%
no reply	14.1%	18.7%

4. COMPONENTS OF NEW DEMAND

Population Trends

Decline of population in the South End since 1950 has been nothing short of dramatic. The area lost 18,000* persons (excluding the 3000 in N. Y. Streets) or 35% of its 1950 population. A crude projection of the 1950-60 rate of decline gives a 1970 population of 22,000. A projection based on the proportion of females age 20-29 gives a 1970 population of only 16,000. Excess of births over deaths for the years 1955-60 averages 133** persons per year, indicating that the present population is not replacing itself. But by far the more important component of population loss is migration.

Migration

Total in migration for 1955-60 averaged at least 16000* persons annually, thus making average annual out-migration a minimum of 3380 persons, or 1/10 of the gross population. It is clear that this trend is still going on, though at a slightly reduced rate. Recent field checks of the rapid change blocks indicate a decline since 1960 of about 900 occupied units or about 1800 persons. One

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* 1950 and 1960 Census
** from vital statistics, City of Boston

would expect the volume of future out-migration to continue somewhat the trends of the recent past because the migrants are those now living in the area and hence identifiable. In-migration on the other hand is less a function of the present South End population and more governed by factors of housing supply, employment opportunity, segregation patterns, journey to work, and other conditions inherent in the area, not its present occupants. Therefore in-migration could shift rapidly in both amount and type, given an improvement in one or more of these factors.

One such shift in migration not recorded in the 1960 Census, is the rapidly accelerating influx of Puerto Ricans and other Latins. South End is the principal staging area for this group in greater Boston. A knowledgeable student of this group has estimated that in the next decade, from 10,000 to 20,000 Puerto Ricans will migrate to the Boston area, most but not all to remain here, and the bulk of whom to move into or through South End.*

In-migration of non-whites suggests a slower but more permanent type of social transformation. Non-whites are moving into the area in approximately equal numbers to whites. This settlement, which has been going on for several decades, is a fairly slow progression from west to east rather than an infiltration. If present trends continue, non-whites will outnumber whites by 1970, a situation which may be mitigated by the opening up of other areas to non-whites in southern sections of Boston or by the continued resistance of competitive groups such as Puerto Ricans, Syrians, and Chinese.

Since both Negroes and Puerto Ricans have higher fertility rates than present South End whites, the racial and ethnic composition of in-migrants will have a decisive effect on plans for new

*From thesis on Puerto Ricans in South End by Ismael Dieppa 1959 - Copy in possession of Charles Fraggos.

housing and community facilities.

Population Projection

A reasonable [illegible]ction to 1970 can be made for South End population if one assures that the housing inventory will not decline [illegible]ner, that opportunities for unskilled employment remain in Central Boston, that in-migration continues at the rate of the past decade, and that out-migration slows down a little. All of these are reasonable expectations.

(a) So. End net in-migration 1955-60 (from Census)

moves into S. E. from City of Boston		10,686	persons
moves into S. E. from elsewhere in Boston (1/4 of above)		2,672	7318
moves into S. E. from outside Boston		4,646	
moves where res. not rep. (1776)	7318	847	
total moves into So. End 1955-60	15332	8,[illegible]	
Avg. annual moves into So. End 1955-60		1,633 use 1640 pers/yr.	

(b) So. End net annual out-migration

gross population decline (NY Streets excl.) 1950-60	18,091
annual net population decline	1,909
deaths over births 1955-60	663
annual deaths over births	133/year

then pop. decline = (out-mig-in-mig) + (deaths-births)
1809 = out-mig - 1640 + 133
annual out mig = 3316 use 3300 persons/year or 1/10 of gross pop.
5 year out mig = 16,580

(c) Migration rate & National Increase rate 1955-60

percent of est. 1954 pop. (42,500) in-mig $= \frac{8,165}{42,500} = 19.3\%$

percent of est. 1954 pop. (42,500) out-mig $= \frac{16,580}{42,500} = 39.0\%$

nat'l increase for 5 predom. non-white tracts $= \frac{416}{15,400} = 2.7\%$

(d) Population Projection to 1965

1960 total gross population	33,735	assumptions:
in-mig. 1960-64 (.193)33,735	6,500	same rate as 1954-59
sub-total	40,235	
nat'l increase 1960-64 (.027)33,735	910	rate for 1954-59 of 5 predom. NW tracts: L2, L3, I4, R1, R3
sub-total	41,145	

out mig. 1960-64 (.32)33,735	10,800	rate to reduce net out mig. by 50%
projected 1965 gross pop.	30,345	

(e) Population Projection to 1970

1965 projected gross pop.	30,345	
in mig. 1960-64 (.193)30,345	5,850	same rate as 1954-59
sub-total	36,195	
nat'l increase 1960-64 (.035)30,345	1,060	slightly higher rate than 5 tracts assumed above
sub-total	37,255	
out mig. 1960-64 (.23)30,345	6,975	rate reflects per cent in BRA fam. wanting out of SE
projected 1970 gross pop.	30,280	

This 1970 projected gross population of 30,300 persons assumes no further housing deterioration, demolition, or new construction. Rate of out-migration of 1954-59 is assumed to decline during 1960-64 so that new out-migration reduces absolutely about 50% (from 8400 to 4200), a rate that appears to approximate the existing situation. Out-migration would decline further 1965-69 to a rate almost equal to the in-migration rate for 1954-59, a rate that reflects the family survey preference for leaving the South End. In-migration rate is assumed constant. The rate of natural increase is assumed to advance from -.016 to a +.035 during the decade, reflecting continuing in-migration of more fertile groups. However, natural increase is the least important determinant of population change. Despite the probability of continued in-migration of groups with higher fertility, the net effect over the next decade, in view of the continued concentration of the elderly, would not give an overall rate of natural increase higher than that of the 5 non-white tracts referred to in the above computation (2.7%). This would produce in the next decade barely 2,000 births over deaths to balance off a continued net out-migration, which can be expected to be in in the order of 5,000 persons for the decade if present trends

continue.

This leveling [illegible] of South End population at around 30,000 by 1970 represents a considerably higher figure than the 22,000 obtained by projecting current rate of decline. It is a more reasonable projection because continued decline at the rate of the past decade seems excessive, and because a trend toward larger families is expected to set in; but both guesses may prove wrong. In any case, achievement of any given population in South End depends more on the housing supply than on any other factor.

Preference Changes

The past decade has seen a substantial out-migration from the older parts of Boston on the part of those families having the means and opportunity of finding housing elsewhere. Large numbers of families -- particularly those with children -- have rejected South End, both in terms of its housing and its environment.

South End housing is far from ideal for family living (as measured by contemporary middle class standards), consisting of small apartments or single rooms on upper floors of dingy, century-old buildings in which a single bathroom and toilet are shared by from 2 to 10 other tenants. Yard space is at a minimum, often inaccessible to upper units, generally unsightly, and is not generally used by children or families for recreation. Parking is scarce, and most families need a car. It is doubtful if present housing could be made really suitable for the permanent occupancy of families.

The environment is equally unattractive for family living. High volumes of through traffic and truck traffic, excessive crime and vice, excessive alcoholism, excessive juvenile delinquency and other corruptions of youth, extremely poor schools, and dirt, filth, disorder, irresponsibility, and social abnormality everywhere are in

evidence. By nearly every environmental standard measurable in statistics, South End, including Lower Roxbury, ranks the lowest in the metropolitan area. (The reader is referred to Profile for Planning, United Community Services of Greater Boston, 1962 for statistics.)

As a consequence of such housing and environmental deficiencies, the South End has become very much a way station for newcomers to the city or for people needing temporary quarters. Those who can afford to move to more attractive locations soon do so, leaving mainly the destitute, the elderly, the social misfits, and certain minority groups. The shortage everywhere of decent apartment units at reasonable rents and present practices in housing discrimination are all that keeps many families in South End.

Employment

Since the South End is so close to downtown Boston, it is not surprising that most of its employed residents work in downtown. And some 82 per cent work in the City of Boston. Since manufacturing and wholesaling activities have been moving out of the central area, opportunities in those fields for South End residents have declined. They may continue to decline, reflecting the dominant out-migration and dispersion trend of industry. However, some industries, such as garments, shoes and leather, machinery, wool, and printing are firmly anchored in the central area and will continue to employ large numbers of South End workers. Also new industries will no doublt be established within the project area itself.

Trends toward increased automation and higher productivity will tend to balance off the above intown employment opportunities, as will tendencies toward higher skilled and more specialized personnel in all lines of work.

In summary there will continue to be jobs available, either in downtown or within easy commuting distance of South End, in those lines of work that can utilize the skills and capacities of South End workers. The area is central to metropolitan Boston and will continue to attract newcomers from other regions who seek low skilled employment in Boston, and who require cheap housing for an interim period.

Income Changes

Present South End, as a community, is the lowest income area in Metropolitan Boston, (see Profile for Planning, USES, 1962) and has probably had this unfortunate distinction for some years. The breakdown of income level and its relation to family size and rent level for the South End population was given on page [illegible]

It is true that expected increases in social security and welfare allotments will ease the economic situation for retired persons, and welfare recipients in South End as elsewhere. Also, medical aid for the elderly will especially benefit the area. Then, too, incomes of the whole society are near an all time high, and Metropolitan Boston is a high income region. South End residents cannot help but share in the general prosperity of the city and region to some extent. But as they do, they acquire the means to move to better housing in a more attractive environment and respond to the natural inclinations of people for a better way of life.

Any prospects for a significant rise in income among present South End residents, or attraction of higher income families in significant numbers into the area, are simply not visible in the near future.

5. RELOCATION DEMAND

Relocation Within the Project Area

Besides natural increase and net migration, the factor of displacement by public action will influence amount and character of future population enormously. It is convenient to distinguish between displacement within South End and displacement from other project areas or highway projects.

Action within the project area will cause three types of displacement:

(1) by demolition
(2) by rehabilitation and conversion
(3) by the raising of rents

Demolition will be of two types -- wholesale clearance and spot clearance within rehabilitation areas.

Although treatment areas and future land uses have not yet been agreed upon, it is necessary to make a tentative estimate of residential clearance in order to approximate displacement. Map VIII page 70, defines those areas where wholesale clearance is probable. This map should not be taken as a proposal, but only an estimate, based on known condition of structures, condition of units, subsoil conditions, physical continuity or isolation, and known proposals for land use and circulation changes. No attempt was made to identify spot clearance areas.

Quantification of occupied units within clearance areas was based on the 1960 census, the BRA exterior survey, and recent field checks of the rapid change blocks. The census, being an interior 100% family count, is more accurate than the BRA survey (which depended upon a mailbox and doorbell count), but is some 17 months earlier. Therefore, in blocks experiencing demolition since April 1960, a unit count was made from the street with both BRA

SOUTH END URBAN RENEWAL AREA

BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

SCALE
APRIL 1962
DRAWING NUMBER

R 56

survey and the census as a guide. From this recent count plus the census in the non-change blocks the number of occupied units to be eliminated was estimated to be about 3700 units out of a current total of 16,350 such units in the project area. This amounts to 23 per cent of total occupied units. About 200 units of the above total are non-housekeeping units. Current gross population of the 3700 units is an estimated 8500 persons, giving an average family size of 2.3 persons per unit. This is the approximate displacement load for the wholesale clearance areas if action occurred today. If action is several years off, the displacement load would be correspondingly less, assuming that the decline of the past two years of some 900 families continues.

Displacement due to rehabilitation and conversion is complicated by uncertainty over the need to convert non-housekeeping units for transients to apartment units. If present FHA requirements respecting transient housing are to be met, the conversion of lodging house units to efficiency apartments will result in a substantial decrease in total number of units. A typical lodging house, consisting of an owner's apartment on the ground floor and 4 sleeping rooms on each of the three floors above (13 units) would probably be converted into two efficiencies on each upper floor plus the owner's unit (7 units). But FHA standards at present limit conversion in buildings of wood joist construction to but one unit per floor, thus giving the typical building a capacity of 4 units.

The South End had 7,820 single room units in 1960, nearly all presumed to be of the transient, non-housekeeping type. An estimated 200 such units would be eliminated in the above-mentioned clearance area. Of the remaining 7,620 units, 27 per cent are vacant, giving a total occupancy count in those areas to be rehabilitated of 5,500.

Now assuming the typical lodging house with 12 sleeping rooms can be converted to 6 efficiencies (2 on each floor) the resulting reduction in the inventory to 3,810 units would cause the displacement of some 1,740 occupants. But if, as seems unlikely, FHA standards regarding number of units per floor cannot be relaxed, the lodging house inventory reduces to about 1,910 two-room apartments and the resulting displacement comes to 3,640 occupants. But a third and more probable policy decision of FHA* would be to insure transient lodging as transient lodging, in which case there would be no displacement.

Rehabilitation of present apartment units (where conversion from lodging house units is required) is not likely to result in an appreciable decrease or increase in the total inventory. Conversion of present single family dwellings to "multies" may be a factor in expanding the total inventory, though few singles that are not lodging houses remain in the South End. For the time being this type of conversion is assumed to be negligible. Total displacement due to rehabilitation and conversion then will probably be between 0 and 1,700 unit occupants (mostly unrelated individuals) or up to 10 per cent of total occupied units.

Displacement due to the raising of rents or because the cost of required improvements is greater than the owner can afford - causing him to liquidate his investment - is a most difficult thing to approximate. This report will dodge the question, since it is unnecessary to estimate this figure now -- what is wanted is total net loss in housing inventory due to public action. Displacement can now be itemized as follows:

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*Based on opinion of Dominic Iadonisi, 6/24/62

wholesale clearance	3700
spot clearance	200
rehab & conversion	0 to 1700
total	3900 to 5600

On the positive side there are 200 apartment units in the rehabilitation portion of the South End which are vacant and available (according to a recent BRA survey). Thus total displacement, before the addition of new units to the inventory, would come to between 3,700 and 5,400 occupied units. Since this displacement would occur over a number of years and would be concurrent with construction of an undetermined amount of new housing, the above figure is less significant than the total net displacement. This can be estimated only after a figure is developed for the number of new units to be added to the inventory.

Again it should be emphasized that the above estimate of probable relocation range is not a proposal, but only an educated guess in order to ascertain the effect of displacement on housing demand.

6. IMPLICATION OF HOUSING INVENTORY

Existing Stock in Relation to Present and Future Demand

The present (1962) housing inventory stands at about 19,700 gross units, including about 12,200 apartment and 7,500 lodging house units.* About 3,400 units of all types are vacant, 17.4% but only 35 per cent of these are apartments -- the rest being lodging house units which are nevertheless included in the census housing inventory.** Total occupied units now number about 16,300*, a decline of some 900 units through vacancy and demolition since April 1960.

* An updating of the census count of occupied units from recent field checks of the rapid change blocks in South End.
** Based on recent BRA survey of available housing in South End.

Most units have become vacant before demolition, but in some cases the occupants were evicted by the City or private owners in order to demolish.

In spite of this apparent housing surplus, good apartments with modern facilities in sound buildings are in acutely short supply. A recent BRA survey of private rentals identified only 180 apartment units (or 2.0%) out of a total inventory of about 9,000 such units vacant and available in the potentially non-clearance areas of South End. A much greater number are vacant but substandard or otherwise not suitable for occupancy - many being boarded up or open to vandalism. Demand may be strong in numbers but apparently not strong enough in rent paying capacity to justify the necessary improvements to place these units on the market.

Among lodging house units, vacancies number about 2,200 or 30 per cent of all such units. Lodging houses occur throughout the older portion of the South End in structures originally built as single dwellings. Due to the excessive cost of operating these houses and heating them (heating bills are reported to run $600 to $700 per year, or 1/10 of the house's value) and the increasing poverty of the owners (frequently the owner is a retired person or couple on social security), the letting of sleeping rooms was a natural consequence if not necessity.

There is no reliable measurement of future demand for low rent transient lodging, but it is safe to forecast a continuing need near the centers of large cities in general and in the Back Bay-South End sections of Boston in particular. The inventory of single room units has dropped sharply in South End from about 13,600 in 1950 to a 1960 figure of 7,820 plus an undetermined number of what the census calls "group quarters". About 5,500 are now occupied and it

seems probable that demand will drop further before leveling off.

Many lodging houses have been converted to full apartments over the years, although many such "apartment" units still share bathrooms and have rudimentary kitchen facilities, and are therefore difficult to classify. But most apartments built originally as apartments date from a later period than the single dwelling-lodging house type and housed less affluent tenants. Now, by odd coincidence the chief apartment areas are those where deterioration and demolition is farthest advanced -- Lower Roxbury, the Harrison to Albany Street area, and Castle Square. Displaced occupants of these areas are not generally finding the apartment units they need in the more stable portion of South End and do not have the rent paying capacity to induce conversion of lodging houses or the placing on the market of substandard vacant apartments. Probably most of them have moved out of the area.

Quality and Potential Treatment of Existing Stock

Condition of housing in the South End has long since deteriorated to the point where its rehabilitation is beyond the capability of most home owners. Few owners or lending institutions will risk money on South End residential property. So widespread are conditions of blight and substandardness that little private improvement has been attempted in recent years and very little private construction since the 1890's.

Of the 20,500 units recorded in the 1960 census housing inventory, 2,220 units (11%) were classified as dilapidated, 9,080 (44%) as deteriorating, and 9,200 (45%) as sound. Of the sound and deteriorating units, 10,750 (59%) lack toilets, bathing facilities, or hot and cold running water for exclusive use of the occupant. Probably nearly all 2,200 dilapidated units also lack plumbing

facilities. Although the presence of cooking facilities for exclusive use of the occupant was implicit in the census definition of a unit, the kitchens of most units are known to be far from adequate. Some 4,675 units (20%) were found to be without central heat or had built-in room heaters, and 290 units had no heat.

Although most of the dilapidated and many of the deteriorating units will probably be eliminated in the course of renewal, thousands of units in non-clearance areas must be provided with adequate plumbing, cooking, and heating facilities and otherwise brought up to standard if overall rehabilitation is to be achieved in South End. Both local FHA officials and the city Building Commissioner, realizing the extent of substandardness in South End, have indicated willingness to make certain adjustments in their respective standards so that the general objective of the standard is met, although the specific means of meeting it is open to flexibility. Their representatives are already working with the BRA rehabilitation project team to study how their standards can best be implemented without pricing South End housing out of its traditional market. Yet even minimum improvements will be costly, and whether they can be financed out of rents to be paid by the present low income tenants is the nub of the issue of South End renewal.

The costs of rehabilitation is South End will, of course, vary considerably with building type and amount of improvement needed. But in general there will be two classes -- improvement of existing apartment units at an estimated average cost of $1500 per unit*, and conversion of lodging houses to apartments at an estimated average cost for a two-bedroom unit (one per floor) of between $2500 and $3000.* Installation of a bathroom and efficiency kitchen

for each unit at an estimated $800 per unit* is one of the items that makes conversions so much more costly than mere improvement of existing units. A third type of rehabilitation, which may or may not be possible depending on how far the FHA can adjust its present policies, is improvement and bringing up to standard of lodging houses to be retained as lodging houses. No estimates have been made for this type, but they would probably run cheaper per structure than the two above types. Cost of conversion to efficiencies (2 units per floor) and to maisonettes (2 floors per unit) would be somewhat lower and higher respectively than that for the basic two-bedroom "flat" quoted above.

Only the most tentative guesses can be made at this time as to rent level of rehabilitated units because so many variables enter the picture: existing indebtedness, cost of the job, terms of financing, and costs of heat and utilities. The following is an attempt to estimate the probable increase in monthly rental resulting from rehabilitation of a typical two-bedroom unit, taking as a lower limit $1,500 and as an upper limit $2,500, the latter representing also the cost of conversion from lodging house units.**

	Min.	Med.	Max.
1. Estimated cost of rehab & conversion	$1500	$2000	$2500
2. Monthly payments at 5 3/4% interest amortized over 25 years	9.44	12.59	15.73
3. Tax increment on increased valuation, assume valuation rate 30%,25%,20% resp. tax rate of $100/1000 of val. (monthly)	3.75	4.41	4.17
total rent increase	$13.20	$17.00	$22.00

The present gross rental (including heat and utilities) for a typical apartment unit occupying one floor may be taken to be from

*These preliminary estimates, courtesy of Dominic Iadonisi, are subject to revision by him.
**Ibid Mr. Iadonisi

$55 to $75 per month.* Assuming costs of operation remain the same, rents after rehabilitation would then be from $68 to $97 per month as a rough estimate, an increase of 24% to 30%. Present average rent of $65 might increase by the median amount above to $82. It may be possible to keep gross rentals below this figure by installation of more efficient heating systems, re-insulating to reduce heat loss, reduction of insurance rates, and reduction of vacancy rates through increased demand. But these are still imponderables.

If the above estimate of rent range ($68 -$97) for typical rehabilitated units is realistic, how many present South End families can afford them? (Unfortunately, in dealing with average families and typical units, the variety of both demand and supply that is possible is eliminated and distortions result.) Present South End tenants now paying an average gross monthly rent of $68 or more have gross incomes averaging $4200 per year or more and number 42 per cent of all families (from 1960 census, individuals excluded). Taking the average figure for rehab. units developed above, those now paying rents of $82 or more are too few to identify by income group and number only about 16 per cent of total families.

Perhaps half of all South End families who are not already displaced by clearance operations will be unable to afford the housing. Just how this gap can be bridged (by housing subsidies, welfare payments, public housing, or simply by allocation of a slightly higher portion of family income to housing) is a question that must await results of the pilot rehabilitation project and more reliable cost, rent, and income figures to be developed in the

* from BRA family survey data

course of a practical demonstration.

Gross rents, including heat and utilities, in South End*

Gross Rent Range	Number of Units	Percent	
under 30	207	1.3	
30-39	843	5.4	
40-49	2720	17.3	
50-59	2485	15.9	
60-69	3640	23.2	57.5%
70-79	2885	18.4	
80-89	1510	9.6	
90-99	725	4.6	
100-109	355	2.3	
110-119	237	1.5	
120-& over	59	0.4	
Total	15,675	100.0	

Average gross rent = $65/month

Competing Existing and Prospective Development

In order to determine the consequences of South End displacement of the magnitude suggested above, it is necessary to estimate roughly the displacement from other projects in the city and the amount of new housing likely to be built for the low rent market. The principal renewal and highway projects in Boston, both in execution and proposed are listed in Appendix II, along with the number of occupied units eliminated and new units added.

Gross displacement by all future renewal and highway projects noted above will be in the order of 13,000 households, of which some 7800 are a BRA responsibility. Total new units to be added to the inventory,plus vacant rehab. units, in 16 projects or developments will come to about 11,400, plus an unknown amount in South End; but those in the low rent category with a fairly good prospect of being built will number about 3800 + South End.

* From BRA family survey, spring of 1962. Expanded from a 7% sample to total occupied rental units in project area. Rent figures believed to be accurate and without serious distortion, except that data is not broken down by size of unit.

Therefore with the completion the 4 projects in execution, the 5 in advanced planning, and the Turnpike, total inventory will stand at approximately 236,000 + South End units, or 4000 below the 1960 inventory. But reduction of total city inventory is less significant than reduction caused by the 5 high priority projects. This will amount to a net loss of some 3900 units, less whatever is built in the prospective low rent private developments and in the South End.

Although there has been no commitment to replace within Boston all of the housing eliminated by urban renewal, there are undeniable political and psychological advantages to a policy of approaching a one-for-one replacement in the low rent category if the term "urban renewal" is to have meaning. If the propsective low rent private developments add 1500 units (ignoring other scattered private construction), it would seem desirable for the remaining deficit of some 2400 units to be made up in the South End.

The above line of reasoning leaves out many variables, not least of which is the constantly changing picture of new projects and proposals; also, abviously, the above is not a measure of demonstratable housing demand. But net gain or loss of housing should not be lost sight of, especially in the low rent field where demand presses hardest on available supply.

7. DEMAND FOR NEW HOUSING

In the last anlysis, the amount of new housing to be built in South End is limited by the aggregate capacity of suitable housing sites. To determine this, the project area was studied for possible clearance areas where residence is an appropriate reuse, the same assumptions being followed as in the previous section regarding location of probable clearance areas. Space was earmarked for new

schools, parks, playgrounds, and the expansion needs of existing institutions. Sites were also allocated to industry and new commercial uses, and some were taken out of industrial use -- all in keeping with previously stated planning objectives. The resulting allocations of sites for new housing (see map on page 21) represents probably a maximum amount of land that can be considered appropriate for that use by reason of location -- those sites adjacent to expressways or in an undesirable position with respect to industry were excluded. The space needs of competing activities may, on analysis, reduce further the proportion of land that can be justified for residence. Opinions will differ as to the amount and location of both potential clearance areas and new housing sites, but only a rough approximation is required here.

The total space thus obtained comes to 44 acres, including 10 acres in Castle Square, 21 below Massachusetts Avenue, and 13 in between. It is assumed that high rise construction will not be employed in South End to any great extent, due to its higher cost and to what is believed to be a strong local opposition. Therefore a density of 50 average sized units per net acre should be considered about maximum for 3-story garden-type apartments for which the required amount of private open space and parking is provided on site. (This is about half the density of original South End development and a little less than that of the Lenox Street Project.) The 44 acres identified above, developed at an average density of 50 units per net acre, will produce 2200 average (say 800 sq. ft. gross) apartment units. This may be considered the practical (though not the ultimate) capacity of the project area for new housing. Obviously additional housing can be provided by using less desirable locations or going to high rise construction or smaller units if

demand is strong enough to justify it.

In order to determine how these potential units should be distributed among public, low rent private, and moderate rent private housing, the potential market must be analyzed and its rent paying capacity related to expected rent levels at which various types of new housing can be offered.

Demand for New Private Housing

What is the expected gross rental for new low cost apartment units built under all available subsidies - the land writedown, 121A (limitation of dividends and tax reduction), and the 221d3 (3 1/8 per cent interest and 40 year amortization period)? Several office studies have been done on probable cost and rent level of typical 221d3-121A apartments.

(1) The Richard Green estimate of debt service and gross rental, based on a 1962 construction cost estimate by Arthur L. Brown, Jr. of Wenham, for a 4-bedroom, 2-story row house of masonry exterior and frame interior, on slab without basement or garage, enclosing 1400 sq. ft. of space. Gross rent without utilities = $101.35 per month.

(2) The Kenneth Salk estimate of debt service and gross rental, based on a 1962 design and construction cost estimate by Dominic Iadonisi for an average size, low cost, apartment unit enclosing 1360 sq. ft. of space, cinder block brick veneer walls, no basement, no garage, centralized heating. Gross rent = $103.02 per month.

(3) The Alan Kreditor estimates of 1962 for a typical low cost apartment in a 2 or 3-story structure without basement or garage, based on land cost of 20 cents per sq. ft. and building cost of $18 per sq. ft., enclosing 1280 sq. ft. of space. Gross rent = $120 per month.

With the above studies serving as rough guides, and through consultation with Mr. James Finigan of the BRA staff, a prospective rent schedule was worked out for new South End construction. These figures are for typical low cost units in 2 or 3-story garden-type apartment buildings of cinder block brick veneer walls, on slab without basement, no garage. Gross rentals under 221d3, 121A, and land writedown, including heat, utilities, taxes, and a limited profit would come to the following (in round numbers) for typical unit sizes.

1 room efficiency unit of 400 sq. ft. (actual size)	$65 per month
1 bedroom unit of 570 sq. ft.	$75 " "
2 bedroom unit of 720 sq. ft.	$85 " "
3 bedroom unit of 900 sq. ft.	$97 " "
4 bedroom unit of 1100 sq. ft.	$110 " "

These rentals are approximately what is "hoped for" in new low rent construction, since no concrete proposals have yet been made in Boston. To assume lower figures (as some have done) might be wishful thinking and not realistic as a guide for South End market analysis.

The rent paying capacity of a potential market can be estimated in two ways: (a) by determining what people are now paying for various sized units and assuming that as the measure of what they can afford, or (b) by assuming an emperically derived percentage of the income of various sized families as the measures of what they can afford.

The table of Rent Level by Family Size based on the ten per cent sample BRA family interview of 1962, shows the gross monthly rentals being paid by households of various sizes.

The following table computes that portion of the South End potential market (families who want to remain in the area plus those that are undecided, indifferent, or would be satisfied with any Boston location) actually paying rents equal to or greater than those listed in the preceding section for typical 221(d)(3) apartment units. The

numbers of families in each family size group now paying rents at or above the 221(d)(3) level are determined from the table on Rent Level by Family Size and listed as a percentage in the following table. Families are then converted to members of units of five possible sizes corresponding respectively to the estimated space needs of each. The resulting potential market of 3225 units exceeds the estimated capacity of the areas available for new housing at moderate densities made on page

Size of Potential Market for 221(d)(3) Housing by Unit Size as Derived from Present Rent Paying Capacity

Family Size	Assumed Unit Size	Average Gross Rent	% of each fam. size groups affording	Households in S.E. potential market	Number of households affording
1	effcy.	$ 65	25%	4,985	1,250
2	1 bdrm.	$ 75	30%	4,340	1,300
3	2 bdrm.	$ 85	22%	1,620	350
4	2-3 bdrm.	$ 85-97	15%	1,015	150
5	3 bdrm.	$ 97	12%	615	75
6/more	3-4 bdrm.	$ 97-110	10%	975	100
				13,550	3,225

Unit Size	Households affording
Effcy.	1,250
1 bdrm.	1,300
2 bdrm.	400
3 bdrm.	225
4 bdrm.	50
Total	3,225

Using the other method for measuring rent-paying capacity - by means of an empirically derived percentage of gross income, the following steps are involved: The table on Numbers of families by Income and Size of the potential South End consumer market (page 60) is again taken as the appropriate base for rent paying capacity determination. In this case the amount that each family can afford for housing is taken to be that spent by typical consumers of each

income group for the Boston SMA, 1960. In the following table the number of households that can afford 221(d)(3) housing of the unit size needed are tabulated. The results totaling 3,600 units, compare closely with those derived above from actual gross rents of local tenants. These figures are slightly higher in the second method than in the first, but the similarity for all unit sizes is close enough to establish the validity of either set of results.

Size of Potential Market for 221(d)(3) Housing by Unit Size as Derived from Average Consumer Expenditures on Housing for Boston, SMA, 1960

Income Group in $1,000	Adjusted* amount spent on housing	1	2	3	4	5	6/more
Under 1	$ 460	-	-	-	-	-	-
1 - 2	650	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 - 3	750	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 - 4	890	840	63	-	-	-	-
4 - 5	1020	268	375	147	-	-	-
5 - 6	1120	136	547	144	107	-	-
6 - 7.5	1230	54	147	93	80	40	-
7.5 - 10	1350	18	184	64	65	81	42
over 10	1450	14	39	14	15	13	25
TOTAL	. . . .	1330	1360	462	267	134	67

Unit size needed	effcy.	1 bdrm.	2 bdrm.	2-3 bdrm.	3 bdrm.	3 1/2
Equiv. annual gross rent	$780	$ 900	$1020	$1120	$1190	$1250

Unit Size	Households affording 1st method	Households affording 2nd method
effcy.	1,250	1,330
1 bdrm.	2,300	1,360
2 bdrm.	400	560
3 bdrm.	225	330
4 bdrm.	50	40
TOTAL	3,225	3,620

* Expenditures for shelter, fuel, light, refrigeration, and water, by income group, from Survey of Consumer Expenditures 1960-61, Bureau of Labor Statistics Report No. 237-7, Nov. 1962; Table 1. (Figures adjusted for irregularities).

The potential market for new 221(d)(3) housing in the South End as determined from the BRA family urgency is thus taken to be the 3,200 units derived by the first method and distributed by unit size as the table on page 84 suggests. It must be emphasized, however, that these figures represent the number of <u>families that can afford</u> the new units of the sizes and prices suggested, <u>not the housing need</u>. The strong emphasis on small units in this schedule reflects the existing population composition and the tendency for the South End to become a non-family neighborhood. If large families are to continue to live in the area (there are now over 1000 of 6 or more persons each) large units must be provided, yet these families are the least able to afford the amounts of space they need. Existing rehabilitated row house units will, of course, continue to house most large families, although such units are for many reasons not ideally suited for the raising of children. Perhaps the possible choices here are between (1) existing housing, (2) new housing but in an overcrowded condition, (3) more public housing for large families, (4) rent subsidies for large low income families, toward new adequate sized units.

If the new 221(d)(3) housing is to accommodate relocatees, which it is legally required to do, it would seem that housing needs of the current population being displaced rather than rent paying capacity should determine the unit size schedule. That need can best be quantified by taking that portion of the South End consumer preference group (see table page 60) having incomes above the public housing level for families of three or more persons. For one and two person families the suggested demand will continue to be a function of rent paying capacity as determined under the first method. Using the same family size to unit size relation as was

assumed in the above method, the schedule for new 221(d)(3) units is as follows:

Family Size	Families Affording	Unit Size Needed	Recommended Demand	% of Total
1	1,250	effcy.	1,250	35%
2	1,300	1 bdrm.	1,300	37%
3	352	2 bdrm.	460	13%
4	314			
5	143	3 bdrm.	440	12.5%
6	176	4 bdrm.	90	2.5%
Total			3,540	100 %

The above schedule is a reflection of the potential need (and for 1 and 2 person families, the potential market) for new private housing in the South End, based on the characteristics of those families that will probably continue to live there. If the rehousing of the present population is an overriding policy, then the above unit size schedule - a schedule that more or less perpetuates the area's present role as an intown community for adult living - is an appropriate guide for new development. If, however, it becomes a renewal policy to alter the present role and encourage more families with children to settle in the area, then the above proposals should be accordingly reduced in numbers of efficiency and one-bedroom units and increased in numbers of larger units. In any case, if the final program calls for fewer than the 3540 units categories, since the needs of one and two-person families can more easily be met than those of larger families.

Therefore, with the above reservations, the unit schedule given above is the one recommended for new 221(d)(3) housing in the South End.

SUMMARY

Although present dwelling unit vacancies seem to suggest that demand for South End housing is destined to decrease, closer

analysis shows this not to be true. Most vacancies are lodging house units and substandard units as well. It appears that if the environment can be made attractive and modern apartments provided at moderate rents, demand will exceed probable supply and the population will stabilize.

Because of income limitations of South End residents, it is essential that gross housing costs for both new and rehabilitated stock be held to a minimum. This may require retention of buildings that would in other areas be classed beyond rehabilitation or poorly located for residential use. For that housing which must be eliminated, some sites may be inherently unsuitable for new housing or, where suitable, will probably be redeveloped to lower densities.

A policy of replacing the dwelling units which will be eliminated on a one-for-one basis seems desirable from a public relations point of view; however, this implies that high rise construction, extremely small units, or use of inherently inappropriate sites must be employed. Analysis of income, rent level, and family size of the potential South End consumer market indicates a market demand for new 221d3 housing accommodating about 20 per cent of the 1960 population. This quantity of units is considerably greater than that which can be physically accommodated on the sites which are suitable and available for residential reuse.

A considerable portion of such cleared sites must be redeveloped for public housing. At least one-fourth of all public units should be provided for the elderly to reflect the present occupancy pattern. Considering present trends, about 23 per cent of the 1960 population will leave the area as soon as it has the economic means to do so and will not be a factor in consumer

demand. However, in-migration from the outside, spurred especially by vast highway displacement, will probably be sufficient to absorb quickly any housing excess, if rents are kept at the suggested 221d3 level.

The final distribution of housing stock between public and private, new and retained, and rental and owner units can be determined only after the weighing of many other variables. The important thing is to provide some new housing quickly and at moderate cost, and to modernize the remaining stock. This objective should be approached pragmatically and in a manner sufficiently flexible to allow for necessary adjustment in housing type, size, cost, tenure, and design as development proceeds. If the policy of accommodating the local South End consumer market is the first housing objective, then a preponderance of small, efficient units mainly for adult living is recommended. For the South End to become a family living area in the conventional sense is questionable in terms of present market demand; however, future prospects for an improved community will precipitate a demand for family living. To accommodate this new demand implies that great sensitivity must be employed in planning new housing and supporting facilities.

III. SHOPPING FACILITIES OF SOUTH END

The basic objective of this portion of the report is to determine the need for replacing or relocating certain types of shopping facilities in the South End when certain existing facilities are either demolished or vacated because of renewal plans.

General Character of Retail and Service Facilities

Location (Pattern): Roughly ninety (90) per cent of the shopping frontage occurs in a strip-like pattern along or in close proximity to the through arteries of Columbus, Tremont and Washington Streets, with concentrations near the intersections of Massachusetts Avenue and Dover Street. (See map on following page) In general the shopping outlets are freely intermixed with residential uses throughout the area.

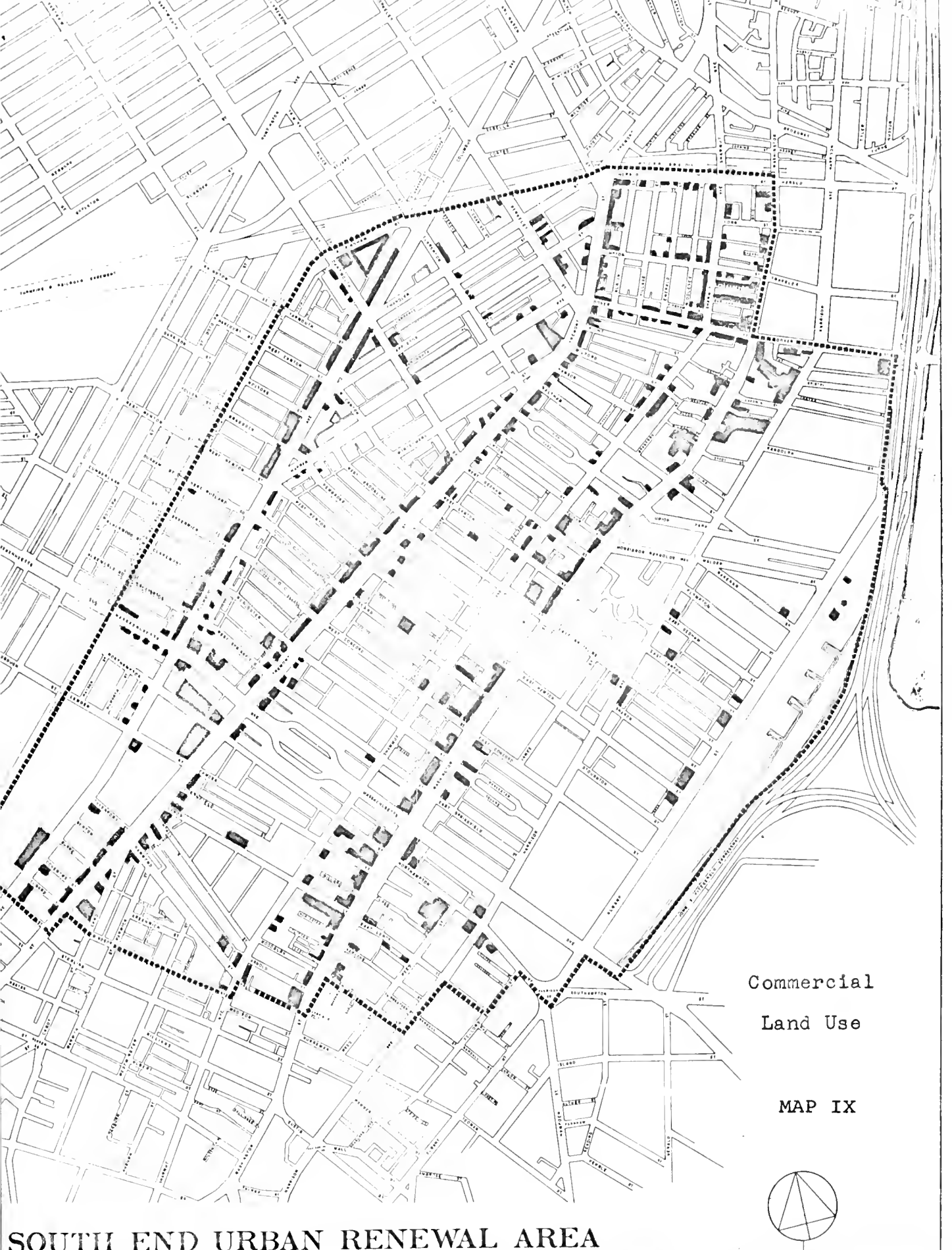
Size: The South End is characterized by the smaller than average shopping outlet, in large part owned and operated by the entrepreneur himself or with a small number of employees of which most live in the South End.

Condition: In terms of physical condition, it appears that the typical shopping establishment in the South End is marginal in character, housed in obsolete facilities, without either efficient sales space or adequate customer service (e.g. parking space). However, the economic condition of many of these establishments is uncertain, especially the eating and drinking places.

Vacancy: Presently, approximately 13% of the retail and service space in the South End is vacant. In large part this is due to the recent decrease in population (from 57,000 in 1950 to 35,000 in 1960) in the area.

Method of Analysis

The first step taken toward determining the replacement need for shopping facilities in the South End was to estimate what the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Land Use
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financial ability of the residents is in relation to the support needed to maintain a particular amount of shopping space. To estimate the amount of facilities the South End residents could support, the following procedure was followed.

1. Total family units in South End
2. Average income per unit

} Total gross income in So. End

There are 6,600 families (2 or more) units and 13,200 unrelated individuals for a total of 18,800 units in the South End. The average income of each of the units was estimated at $3,500 per year, or a total of $65,800,000 in income for South End residents.

3. The amount of disposable income (net available to consumer) spent on goods and services:

These figures were taken from R. L. Nelson, The Selection of Retail Locations, 1958. For groups with an average family income between $3,000 and $4,000, 26.64% (or $17,529,110) is expended for taxes, savings, and housing. Hence, in the South End there is a total of $48,270,880 (or 73.36% of total income) spent on goods and services.

4. The percent of expenditures for goods and services that is realized within the boundaries of the South End:

It was assumed that South End establishments will capture approximately ninety (90) per cent of expenditures (or $26,275,914) on convenience goods and services (e.g. drugs, food, barber, shoe repair, etc.) and approximately fifty (50) per cent of expenditures (or $9,537,710) on Primary, Secondary, and general shoppers' goods (e.g. apparel, furniture, appliances, auto parts, etc.) due to the area's location near downtown.

5. The amount spent in particular types of outlets in South End:

The figure for income groups between $3,000 and $4,000 were

taken from Nelson (e.g. 44.37% of total income spent on convenience goods and services, 14.66% spent on Primary Shoppers' Goods, 5.99% spent on Secondary Shoppers' Goods and 8.34% spent on General purchases). These figures were broken down further for particular kinds of stores, (e.g. Supermarkets, 29.75% of total income; men's clothing, 1.08%; appliances, 1.60%; etc.).

6. The total square footage, by type of outlet, able to be supported in South End:

This was arrived at first, by taking the average gross sales per square foot per year necessary to support each particular type of outlet and, second dividing this figure into the amount of money expended in each outlet by the consumer. For example, consumers in the $3,000 to $4,000 income group spend 2.35% of their income in drug stores (or, in the case of the South End, $1,391,670); according to the Community Builders' Handbook, Urban Land Institute, 1960, $55 per square foot per year in gross sales is needed to support a drug store. By this method, a total of 25,303 square feet in drug stores can be supported in the South End ($1,391,670 ÷ $55).

ESTIMATED SUPPORT OF SHOPPING OUTLETS IN SOUTH END

% spent on item (for income range $3,000 - $4,000)**		$ spent on item in South End	Average support in sales needed per sq. ft. of sales area for particular type of business ***	Amount of sales area (sq. ft.) able to be supported in South End
Convenience Goods				
Drugs 2.35)		$ 1,391,670	$ 55	25 303
Grocery (Super) 29.75)		17,617,950	100	176,180
Other Food 4.25)	x 90%	2,516,850	60	41 948
Liquor 1.10)		651,420	80	8,143
Hardware 0.70)		414,540	40	10,364
Filling Station & Acc. 3.52)		2,084,544	--*	------
Other Stores (Service) 2.70)		1,598,940	60	26,649
	St.	$26,275,914		

% spent on item (for income range $3,000-$4,000)**		$ spent on item in South End	Average support in sales needed per sq. ft. of sales area for particular type of business ***	Amount of sales area (sq. ft.) able to be supported
Primary Shoppers Goods				
Dept. Stores	6.75)	$2,220,750	60	37,013
Family & Other Apparel	1.00)	329,000	50	6,580
Men's Clothing	1.08)	355,320	50	7,106
Shoes, Mens & Fam.	0.55)	180,950	60	3,016
Shoes Women	0.58) x 50%	190,820	65	2,936
Variety Stores	1.50)	493,500	45	10,967
Women's Apparel	13.00)	987,000	50	19,740
Jewelry (cheap)	0.20)	65,800	60	1,097
	St.	$4,833,140		
Secondary Shoppers Goods				
Furniture & hshold. Furnishings	1.64) x 50%	539,560	45	11,990
Hshold Appl.	1.60)	526,400	40	13,160
Eating & Drinking	2.75)	904,750	50	18,095
	St.	$ 1,970,710		
General Purchases				
Auto Dealers	7.50)	2,467,500	--*	-----
Auto Parts & Acc.	0.84) x 50%	276,360	45	6,141
	St.	$2,743,860		
Total	73.36%	GT. $35,813,624		426,428 sq. ft.

* No average figures available
** Source: R. L. Nelson, The Selection of Retail Location, 1958
*** Source: The Community Builders Handbook, 1960, Urban Land Institute

The second step taken toward determining the replacement need for shopping facilities in the South End was to determine whether there is an excess or deficit existing in various types of outlets in the area.

7. The number of outlets by type now in South End)
X) = estimated total sq. ft. in ea. type of outlet
8. Average square footage per store type)

The number and type of outlets now existing in the South End was compiled from the Boston City Directory, 1961. The average square feet per store type was extracted from the BRA, Type III Survey for the South End.

The average square feet per outlet was then applied to the number of outlet types to get the estimated total square footage in each type of outlet.

9. Comparison of total sq. ft. existing in each type of store (items 7 & 8) with square footage able to be supported in South End (item 6):

10. Determine excess of deficit in each category with consideration to physical condition: For example, deficits occur in several categories when "D" condition structures are subtracted from existing shopping space.

ANALYSIS OF SOUTH END RETAIL & SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS

	# Stores	Av. Sq. Ft. per store (by sample)	Est. Total Sq.Ft.	Sq. Ft. able to be supported	Existing deficit (-) or excess (+)	NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS & SQUARE FOOTAGE - CONDITION Good A	Minor Rpr. B	Major Rpr. C	Structure not sound D
Drugs	19	1,223	23,237	25,303	2,066(-)	0 (0)	8 (9784)	10 (12,230)	1 (1223)
Super-Mart	5	5,300	26,500	176,180	149,680(-)	2 (10,600)	1 (5,300)	2 (10,600)	0 (0)
Food Str. Grocery	86	1,299	111,714	41,948	69,766(+)	0 (0)	22 (28,587)	44 (57,156)	20 (25,980)
Liquor (pkg)	40	2,273	90,920	8,143	82,777 (+)	2 (4,546)	19 (43,187)	14 (31,822)	5 (11,385)
Hardware	10	2,047	20,470	10,364	10,106(+)	1 (2,047)	3 (6,141)	4 (8,188)	2 (4,094)
Gas	17	4,116	69,972	*	*	5 (20,580)	11 (45,276)	0 (0)	1 (4,116)
					10,903(+)				

	# Stores	Av. sq. ft. per store by sample	Ext. Total Sq. Ft.	Sq. Ft. able to be supported	Existing deficit (-) or excess (+)	NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS & SQUARE FOOTAGE CONDITION: Good A	Minor Repair B	Major Repair C	Structure not sound D
Laundry, cleaners	64	1,225	78,400	26,649	237,227(+)	0 (0)	24 (29,400)	29 (35,494)	11 (13,475)
Barber	49	613	30,037			2 (1,226)	12 (7,359)	25 (15,325)	10 (6,130)
Beauty Salon	38	668	25,384			1 (668)	15 (10,020)	11 (7,348)	11 (7,348)
Tailor	8	650	5,200			0 (0)	5 (3,250)	2 (1,300)	1 (650)
Poolroom billiards	7	1,214	8,498			0 (0)	1 (1,214)	2 (2,428)	4 (4,856)
Loans & pawn	12	1,716	20,600			0 (0)	1 (1,716)	7 (12,012)	4 (6,864)
Funeral homes	6	1,600	9,600			2 (3,200)	2 (3,200)	1 (1,600)	1 (1,600)
Radio, TV Books, Records	15	1,000	15,000			1 (1,000)	3 (3,000)	6 (6,000)	5 (5,000)
Flower Shop	11	1,242	13,662			0 (0)	4 (4,968)	7 (8,694)	0 (0)
Smoke Shop	6	917	5,502			0 (0)	3 (2,751)	2 (1,834)	1 (917)
Shoe repair	12	505	6,060			0 (0)	4 (2,020)	2 (1,010)	6 (3,030)

	# Stores	Av. sq. ft. per store by sample	Ext. Total Sq. Ft.	Sq. Ft. able to be supported	Existing deficit (-) or excess (+)	NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS & SQUARE FOOTAGE CONDITION Good A	Minor Repair B	Major Repair C	Structure not sound D
Clock-watch repair	3	870	2,610			0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (2,610)	0 (0)
Auto repair	19	1,000	19,000			0 (0)	10 (10,000)	5 (5,000)	4 (4,000)
Misc. repair	6	850	5,100			0 (0)	3 (2,550)	1 (850)	2 (1,700)
Bldg. Maint.	11	718	7,898	"	"	0 (0)	2 (1,436)	6 (4,308)	3 (2,154)
Junk shop	5	2,265	11,325				1 (2,265)	1 (2,265)	3 (6,795)
			263,876						
Dept. Store				37,013	37,013(-)				
Apparel (shoe, clothing)	31	1,100	34,100	39,378	5,278(-)	1 (1.100)	9 (9,900)	18 (19,800)	3 (3,300)
Variety store	44	1,293	56,892	10,967	45,925(+)	0 (0)	18 (23,274)	20 (25,860)	6 (7,758)
Jewelry	3	2,000	6,000	1,097	4,903(+)	- (-)	1 (2,000)	2 (4,000)	- (-0)
Furniture	11	6,103	67,133	11,990	55,143(+)	1 (6,103)	4 (24,412)	5 (30,505)	1 (6,103)
Hshold Appl.	6	1,642	9,852	13,160	3,308(-)	0 (-)	1 (1,642)	4 (6,568)	1 (1,642)

	# Stores	Av. Sq. Ft. per store by sample	Ext. Total Sq. Ft.	Sq. Ft. able to be supported	Existing deficit (-) or excess (+)	NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS & SQUARE FOOTAGE CONDITION			
						Good A	Minor Repair B	Major Repair C	Structure not sound D
Eating (cafe)	119	1,772	210,868	18,095	243,075(+)	3 (5,316)	53 (94,916)	46 (81,512)	17 (30,124)
Drinking (bar)	27	1,826	50,302			2 (3,653)	10 (18,260)	14 (25,564)	1 (1,826)
Auto Parts	6	1,275	7,650	6,141	1,509(+)	0 (-)	1 (1,275)	4 (5,100)	1 (1,275)
Auto Dealer	2	50,000	100,000	*	*	0	2 (100,000)	0	0 (52,028)
					304,956(+)				

Ext. Total sq. ft. - 1,149,486

Sq. ft. able to be supported - 426,428 sq. ft.

Excess - 723,058

Total "D" condition - 163,345 - 20% of "C" condition - 85,399

Net excess - 474,314

Analysis & Conclusions

By statistical analysis, the South End possesses almost three times as much community-based retail and service floor space as it can theoretically support. However, much of the existing floor space is housed in deteriorated or deteriorating structures with obsolete merchandising facilities. The great majority of shopping facilities fronts on major arteries, and because of insufficient off-street loading and parking, contributes to street congestion and traffic hazard.

A deficit, or space needed, occurs in only a few categories, such as grocery outlets, drug stores, household appliances and apparel stores. The largest excess in floor space occurs in the package liquor, tavern and eating places, variety store and service categories.

Although the South End serves as a corridor to downtown, and passers-through occasionally stop to shop in stores along the major arteries, it is extremely doubtful whether this token additional support justifies the great excess of space in retail and service outlets now existing in the South End. In the future, due to plans for rerouting much of the through traffic in the South End to peripheral expressways, this token support accruing to many of the now marginal operators in South End can be expected to diminish further.

It appears that store vacancies will continue to increase for a time due to the downward adjustment of shopping facilities, to the recent population decrease, and the resulting decrease in total demand. With the elimination of some outlets, due to clearance and other vacations, the grouping of remaining facilities might be encouraged so as to provide more functional and better service-

giving areas of local shopping. These groupings could become nodes of activity within the South End, serving both to give neighborhood identity and to relieve the congestion and blighting influences associated with present strip shopping facilities.

Any future plans for elimination of, or additions, to the existing shopping facilities must recognize the particular social, as well as economic, needs of South End residents. For example, any large scale elimination of excess service outlets could cause a great impact upon the employment, or rather the unemployment situation in the South End. Many of the South End residents presently employed in the service establishments (e.g. eating, drinking places) might be put out of work if existing establishments were vacated or if more efficient outlets were introduced to replace those that are obsolete. Nevertheless, prolonging the life of the marginal operation together with its adverse influence on the area as a whole, is undesirable from a physical point of view.

New construction of shopping facilities in the South End is predicated on supplying space for replacement of obsolete facilities, relocation of some displaced merchants and provision of space in categories with an existing deficit of space. However, with the existing overall excess in open commercial space, it is expected that relocation space cannot be provided for all firms being displaced. The larger type of facility, in terms of space per establishment, will most likely typify any new development. Nevertheless, the shopping facilities in the South End will continue to be characterized by the small neighborhood entrepreneur drawing support from a very limited trade area. It is important to recognize, however, that the physical arrangement of the small businesses can be improved, resulting in the economic betterment of the individual store owners

and the improvement of service to consumers in the South End as a whole.

From the data above , the need for replacing or relocating particular types of retail and service activities can be determined to a certain extent by comparing the amount of space able to be supported with the total existing space and that space proposed to be cleared in each category. For example, if more than 1,500 square feet of auto supply space were to be demolished, the provision of additional space in this category would seem advisable. (See Table 2)

In view of existing conditions, the provision of additional retail space in the drug store, food, apparel, and household appliance categories is suggested. For example, if the "D" condition (unsound structure) buildings and 10% of the "C" condition (in need of major repairs) buildings were demolished, there would be a deficit of 5,280 square feet in addition to the existing deficit of 5,278 square feet or a total deficit of 10,558 square feet in apparel stores. According to the existing average square feet per apparel establishment, this deficit would suggest approximately 10 additional apparel stores in the South End.

Limitations of the Study

The South End is not a typical area either socially, physically, or economically, hence, the use of rigid standards together with theoretical analyses and evaluations must be viewed carefully and with some skepticism.

The standards of shopping space able to be supported and rates of consumer expenditure in various stores were taken from the Community Builders Handbook and Nelson's Selection of Retail Locations.

These particular figures are geared for the most part to recent developments of the shopping center type. However, it should be

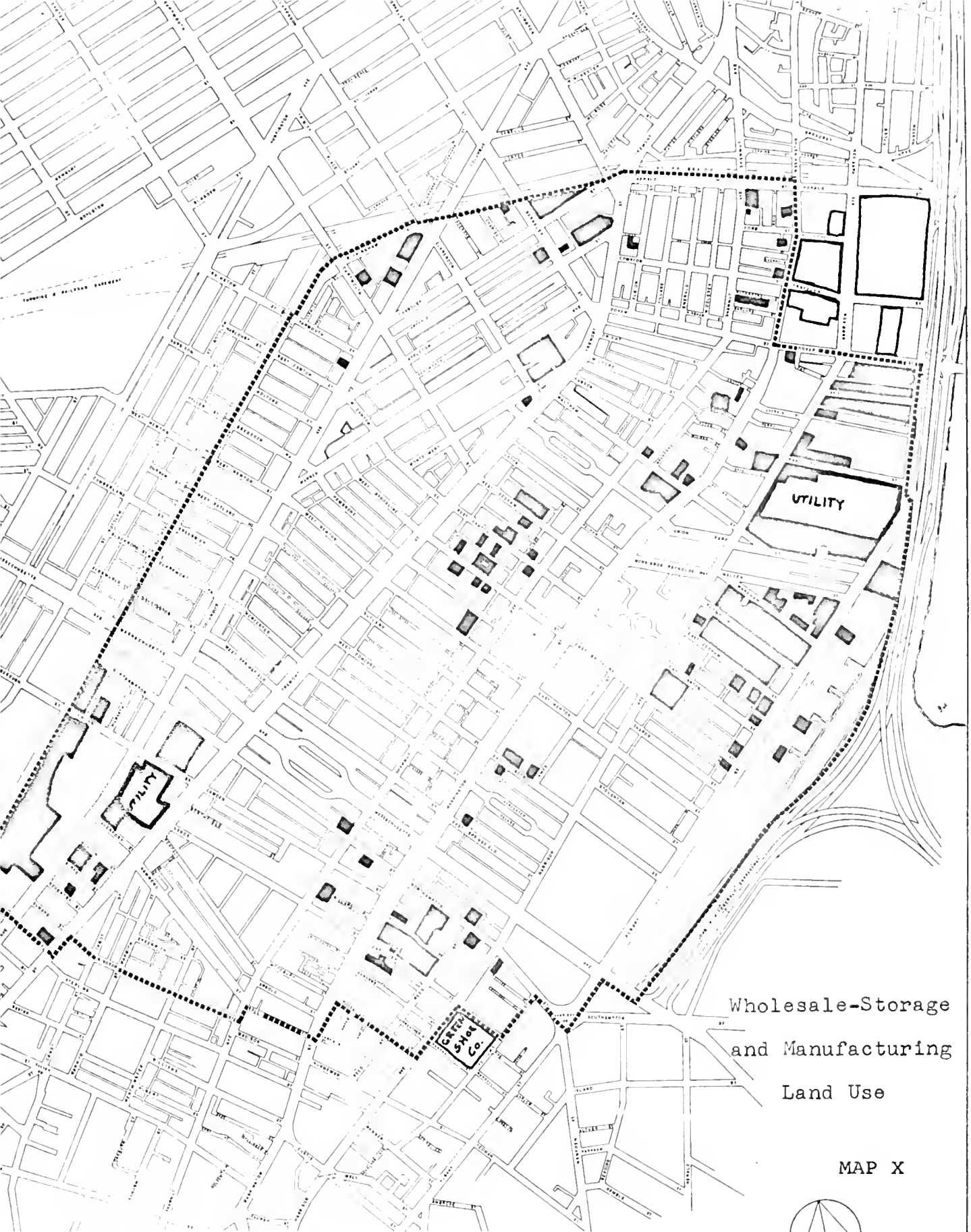
realized that any new investment in, or rehabilitation of shopping facilities in the South End in the future will be predicated on contemporary standards of necessary support and financial ability of the trade area.

This study of retail and service facilities is an overview of the South End as a whole and must be recognized as such. The degree of excess or deficit varies from neighborhood to neighborhood within the South End due to the various levels of income and location of shopping facilities. Therefore, as final renewal plans for the South End evolve, a more detailed analysis of the shopping facilities in relation to consumer income will be undertaken.

IV. INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

1. Existing Development

At the present time 63 acres, or 11%, of the land area in the South End is in industrial or heavy commercial use. A little over 2,000,000 square feet of floor space is used for manufacturing purposes, while almost 800,000 square feet houses wholesale and storage activities. Furniture, wood and lumber products, textiles and apparel products and storage facilities are the most predominate activities in the area, accounting for almost on-third of the total floor space. (See Appendix D) In wholesaling and storage approximately 28% of the floor space is housed in structures needing major repairs or considered beyond repair, while over one-third, or 36%, of manufacturing floor space is also considered to be in deteriorated condition (See Appendix). Major commercial and industrial development exists in three distinct areas of the South End. The largest concentration is located adjacent to the New York Streets industrial development lying between Harrison Avenue and the Southeast Expressway and extending to approximately East Newton Street; a smaller concentration exists between Tremont Street and the New York-New Haven Railroad tracks and south of Massachusetts Avenue extending to the Project boundary; lastly, a small cluster of firms occurs intermixed in the central portion of the residential area on West Dedham, West Canton, and West Brookline Streets. In addition to these three major concentrations, there is the wholesale flower market at Tremont and Clarendon Streets and a few firms in the vicinity of Washington and East Lenox Streets (See map on following page). There are approximately 12,000 persons employed in industrial and heavy commercial activities in the South End with approximately 1,700 working in



Wholesale-Storage and Manufacturing Land Use

MAP X

SOUTH END URBAN RENEWAL AREA

BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

SCALE
APRIL 1962
DRAWING NUMBER

R 56

wholesaling and 10,300 in manufacturing.*

2. Renewal Potential of Existing Plant

Rehabilitation of the industrial plants in the South End to meet contemporary standards of industrial needs is not feasible in most cases. A large portion of the existing plants are in multi-storied, loft-type structures, characteristic of a previous era. Modern industry, on the other hand, competes for the low-rise horizontal layout which contributes to more functional mass production and materials handling techniques. However, it must be realized that the greater number of industrial firms in the city today cannot afford to locate in new facilities in an industrial park complex. There is still a need for lower cost facilities within the city, close to both markets and concentrations of cheap labor supply, to house those firms that are starting out in business or are at a point of instability. The needs of these types of firms are not specific, other than low cost space and intown location. Hence, the retention and rehabilitation of the structurally sound multi-storied space in the South End could provide the facilities necessary to house a portion of the smaller, presently not well-established firms in the city.

According to preliminary plans the cluster of small industrial firms in the central portion of the residential area will be displaced by renewal action. This constitutes approximately 20 - 25 firms or about 230,000 square feet. In addition, it is contemplated that all the "D" condition (unsound structures beyond repair) will be cleared along with certain other industrial structures which are located within predominately residential areas. It is estimated that this additional renewal action will displace approximately 20 firms or about 250,000 square feet of industrial floor space.

*Source: DES count, (apportioned by land use and density figures). Manufacturing: Wholesale (City of Boston Ratio, South End Report) June, 1962

In terms of relocation, there presently exists insufficient vacant industrial space to meet the needs of the displaced firms in the South End. Hence, there seems to be a need for supplying additional space for industry and some new buildings for those firms who are presently well-established and wish to remain in the South End. Demands for space by firms outside the South End will be discussed in the following section.

Components of Future Demand

Metropolitan Growth Prospects:

In the last decade there have been significant changes in the composition of Greater Boston's industrial employment. Most important has been the decrease in the soft good industries. Textiles, which has in the past been the regional employment leader, has dropped to ninth place and electrical machinery has risen from third place to first place. Between 1947 and 1959 the textiles and leather industries have lost a total of 48,000 jobs while the electrical machinery and related activities have gained 59,600 jobs. Between 1947 and 1959, the Boston Core region (including City of Boston, south to Milton, north to Melrose and west to Watertown) has experienced an 8% decrease in industrial employment. On the other hand the area in the Route 128 band has showed an increase of 96.5% in this period (Norwood on south around to Wakefield on north, from Newton to Natick). Within the core area the City of Boston is the main industrial center and accounts for 60% of Core manufacturing jobs and 85% of Core wholesaling employment.

According to the Greater Boston Economic Study Committee (GBESC) projection to 1980 of industrial employment in the Metropolitan region, textiles and leather will continue to decline. The largest projected growth in industrial employment will occur in electrical machinery,

ordnance, fabricated metals, non-electrical machinery, and instruments. All other manufacturing industries and the wholesale industry are expected to experience only slight growth or decline. It is projected that by 1980 there will be an additional 170,000 industrial jobs in the metropolitan area. An addition of approximately 8,000 acres of industrial land will be developed to meet this growth.

There has been increasing reliance by industrial firms on motor vehicle transportation. This trend is particularly strong in electronics, the region's chief growth industry. As a result, the location of existing or planned expressways has been an important factor in most of the location decisions in the past decade. The land area in close proximity to Route 128, hence, has received the greatest share of industrial growth in the Boston region. The presence of congestion and poor access has in large part been responsible for inhibiting Core communities (including Boston) from attracting new industrial development.

Boston Core Growth Prospects:

Industrial development in the Core area depends to a large extent upon whether or not adequate solutions to transportation problems are found within a reasonable time. The Inner Belt is the vital missing link in the Region's highway system. This link is especially significant for the Core itself. Together with the Core's mass transportation system, the completion of the Inner Belt would greatly facilitate the movement of people and goods and could restore much of the former advantage of high accessibility to the heart of Boston. In addition to the Inner Belt, the extension of the Massachusetts Turnpike from Route 128 to downtown Boston will provide added locational incentive to industrial firms seeking high accessibility.

In the future firms wishing the advantage of high accessibility and a Core location will be forced to pay premium prices for the land. The prices most likely will be in the $20,000 to $40,000 per acre range. For locations adjacent to the high-speed expressways, $1.50 to $2.00 per square foot will most likely be the rule rather than the exception. Hence, industries which use land intensively will constitute the greater part of the market for Core industrial land. The projected growth industries of electrical machinery, ordnance, and instruments along with apparel are classified as intensive land users (over 40 workers per acre) while printing and publishing and transportation equipment manufacturers are moderately intensive (over 20 workers per acre) land users.

By 1980, the Core area can expect to experience a slight decrease in industrial employment of about 2,00 to 3,000 workers, (GBESC). Nevertheless, certain sections of the Core are expected to show slight increases in employment due to displacement of firms from other sections (e.g. displacement in downtown, Government Center, and in conjunction with expressway construction). For example, of the 573 firms displaced by the Central Artery, 299 relocated in the downtown, 60 relocated in South and East Boston, and 25 moved to the South End. With the construction of the Turnpike extension and the Inner Belt, additional firms will be seeking relocation. From experience with Central Artery business relocation, it can be expected that approximately 40% of the firms displaced by intown expressway construction will seek locations close to their present locations or within the presently mixed industrial-commercial section on the fringe of the downtown. The Turnpike Extension will displace approximately 75 industrial firms while the Inner Belt expects to displace somewhere in the neighborhood of 100 firms - but possibly more depending on the

route to be selected. Action in other renewal areas including Charlestown, Parker Hill-Fenway and Government Center is expected to displace approximately 600 firms. 141 industrial-commercial firms displaced from Government Center have already relocated; 7 of which have relocated in the South End. From recent experience it can be seen that the South End has been one of those areas which has provided the space for industrial-commercial relocation. All indications are that a number of firms displaced in future renewal action will also relocate in the South End. The extent to which this occurs depends on the amount of land allocated for industrial purposes. In short, the demand exists and is expected to increase. The number of industrial firms relocating in the South End is governed by relative land use allocations.

In addition, there is a backlog of demand for space in such activities as the apparel industry and the graphic arts industry. These industries have long been housed in obsolete facilities in some of the more depressed areas of downtown. There is a demand for new buildings for these industries in the downtown or in close proximity to it. The demand for space in areas like the South End on the part of these particular industries depends to a large extent on the degree to which these and other central business district functions are pushed out from the existing downtown area. To satisfy the demands for the major firms in graphic arts would mean providing approximately 270,000 square feet of floor space (including parking) and over 165,000 square feet for the women's apparel industry.*

Although an overall decrease in industrial employment is expected in the Core, an increase of land used for industrial purposes

* Source: GBESC - A Report on Downtown Boston.

is projected. The Core is expected to gain approximately 430 acres of industrial land, due to the fact that in the future the land area per worker will increase. It is also important to note that the firms relocating in Boston were those which had a small number of employees, while those moving outside the city were the larger employers. The availability of large sites in Boston was not adequate to meet the needs of the larger firms.

The Core will continue to possess the dominant position in industry in the Greater Boston area through 1980 if favorable conditions for manufacturing expansion are supplied. These conditions are: first, improvement of the Core's transportation system by modernizing and extending the MTA, completing the expressway system, and expanding present parking facilities; second, assembly of saleable industrial sites and stabilization of tax policies; and third, active promotion of intown sites by private developers. Carrying on an active program such as outlined above could do much to stem the present outward flow of jobs from the Core area. For Boston itself, the above policies are especially significant since the City is expected to bear the brunt of job losses. Within the City of Boston certain areas display distinct advantages for encouraging the development of growing industries and for providing suitable sites needed for expansion or relocation space of industries now located in other areas of the City.

South End Development Propsects:

The South End, located on the fringe of Downtown Boston and possessing close-by expressways, displays unique advantages in the Boston Region.

<u>Accessibility</u>: In the future, the South End will be encircled by regional transportation facilities; the existing New Haven Railroad

on the West, the existing Central Artery on the East, the proposed extension of the Massachusetts Turnpike on the North, and the proposed Inner Belt on the South. Hence, the South End possesses that factor of industrial locational advantage which in recent years has become a factor of high order importance to modern industry.

Relation to Downtown: In addition to the advantage of excellent access into and out of the area, the South End also provides the distinct advantage to those industries engaged in supplying downtown offices: printing and publishing, the garment trade, and other wholesale and storage activities. Some of these firms have already moved into the South End - Fort Point Channel area due to displacement by downtown expressway construction. However, they are housed largely in reconverted obsolete facilities. Provision of adequate facilities could encourage a downtown-oriented industrial complex to develop in parts of the South End, hence, making space available in downtown for higher level private and public facilities.

Labor Force: Bounded by expressways and possessing public rapid transit facilities, the South End is able to draw upon an extensive amount of both labor and laboring skills from throughout the Boston Area. At present its central location offers many "walk-to-work" opportunities to workers in nearby high density residential areas. In addition to the aforementioned advantages, South End location might be particularly advantageous for the garment industry, since many South End residents are presently employed as garment workers. In general, location of industries, needing a large amount of semi-skilled and unskilled workers, within the South End would be most beneficial to South End residents (e.g. many unemployed). On the other other hand, there exists, especially in the City Hospital area, a pool of skilled technicians. The development of research-type

industries or a pharmaceutical industry in the Lower Roxbury area could draw upon the talent of these nearby residents associated with the hospital. Likewise, research industries might locate in the area near Northeastern University (which is just outside the project boundary) in order to draw upon the talent of the academic staff of the University.

Land Cost: The cost of industrial land will, quite expectedly, be somewhat higher for comparable intown sites, such as in the South End than for suburban sites. In the case of Boston, the heavy burden of taxes plays a significant role in location choice for industry. While outlying areas have in the past offered suitable industrial land at lower costs than the city, many suburban industrial districts now demand prices close to those demanded in the city. For the most part, the suburban areas continue to attract new industrial growth. However, location in outlying areas is being predicated more and more on advantages of available, suitable sites* and limited-access, high-speed expressways, rather than on simple comparisons of land costs and relative tax burdens. With proper development, the South End can provide sutiable sites adjacent to the Southeast Expressway and the proposed Inner Belt which will be highly accessible, close to the city market, and possessing an ample pool of labor.

In summary, the South End possesses many locational advantages for industry. It must be realized, however, that the South End will continue to be a predominately residential area able to house only a portion of the activities demanding locations on the fringe of the Downtown. Hence, industry must not be allowed to develop beyond the point at which it jeopardizes the residential character of the

(*According to BRA engineers no soil bearing problems would occur in building industrial structures under 5 stories.)

community. The amount of industry that the South End is able to handle depends largely on 1) the type of industry developed (e.g. light, non-nuisance or heavy, nuisance-type), 2) its location in relation to residential areas (e.g. well-buffered or interspersed), and 3) its physical design (e.g. in relation to surrounding development and to the capacity of internal circulation facilities).

Characteristics of Future Potential in South End

The South End can expect to gain from 800-1200 industrial jobs, depending on the amount of land allocated for industrial re-use by 1975. In terms of land area needs, considering 1) relocation demand of South End firms, 2) relocation demand from other renewal activities 3) relocation demand from other public action, e.g. highway construction, 4) the feasibility of new industrial growth in the South End, and 5) the backlog of demand by firms presently on inadequate sites, the demand for industrial space in the South End will total approximately 30-40 acres in addition to that land presently in industrial use. New sites should be on parcels of generally 1-5 acres range considering the intensive nature of industries expected to locate in South End; however, it is expected in some cases several firms will be occupying a structure. The attraction of growing industrial firms and the provision of a portion of relocation needs herein anticipated can be provided in the South End through renewal action. A two-fold purpose can thereby be served: one, to keep industrial activity within Boston thereby helping to retain the tax base; and two, to provide jobs and subsequent rises in income for Boston residents. However, the anticipated growth of particular industries is not without ramification for South End residents. The demand for unskilled or semi-skilled workers, of which the South End is largely composed, has been declining rapidly and is expected to continue to decline.

On the other hand, the skilled worker is most often sought by industry. To encourage only those industries employing low-skilled persons to locate in the South End would be short-sighted indeed. The vital factor in improving the income levels of South End workers is initiating a job training or retraining program for unskilled workers or workers whose skills have become obsolete. Although relocation in the South End of some firms needing low-skilled workers might temporarily provide additional jobs, the development of growth industries employing skilled workers could bring economic strength to the South End by attracting people of higher income to live in the area.

In summary to this section of the report, the South End appears to have the basic advantages for success in attracting industrial firms into the South End area. The built-in investment in highways calls for fuller utilization of prime land in the South End. However, it is important to recognize that the South End will continue to be a predominately residential area especially north of Massachusetts Avenue and west of Washington Street. Therefore, it is suggested that industrial development (e.g. light manufacturing, wholesaling, and distributive functions) be located in conjunction with the Southeast Expressway - Fort Point Channel Area and the proposed Inner Belt on the periphery of the area, south of Massachusetts Avenue and east of Washington Street. Intrusion of industry into the proposed residential areas could negate any strength that new industrial development could bring to South End.

V. DESIGN IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

The purpose of this section is to evaluate the sketch plans made in the Preliminary Plan Report of June 1962 in the light of research completed since then by the South End Planning Staff. Since June the feasibility of plan #2 has become very remote because of decisions about conservation area #1; therefore only plan #1 is tested in this report. In estimating the amount of buildable land available in the South End, the BRA Survey Report of March 1962 has been used.

Land Allocation

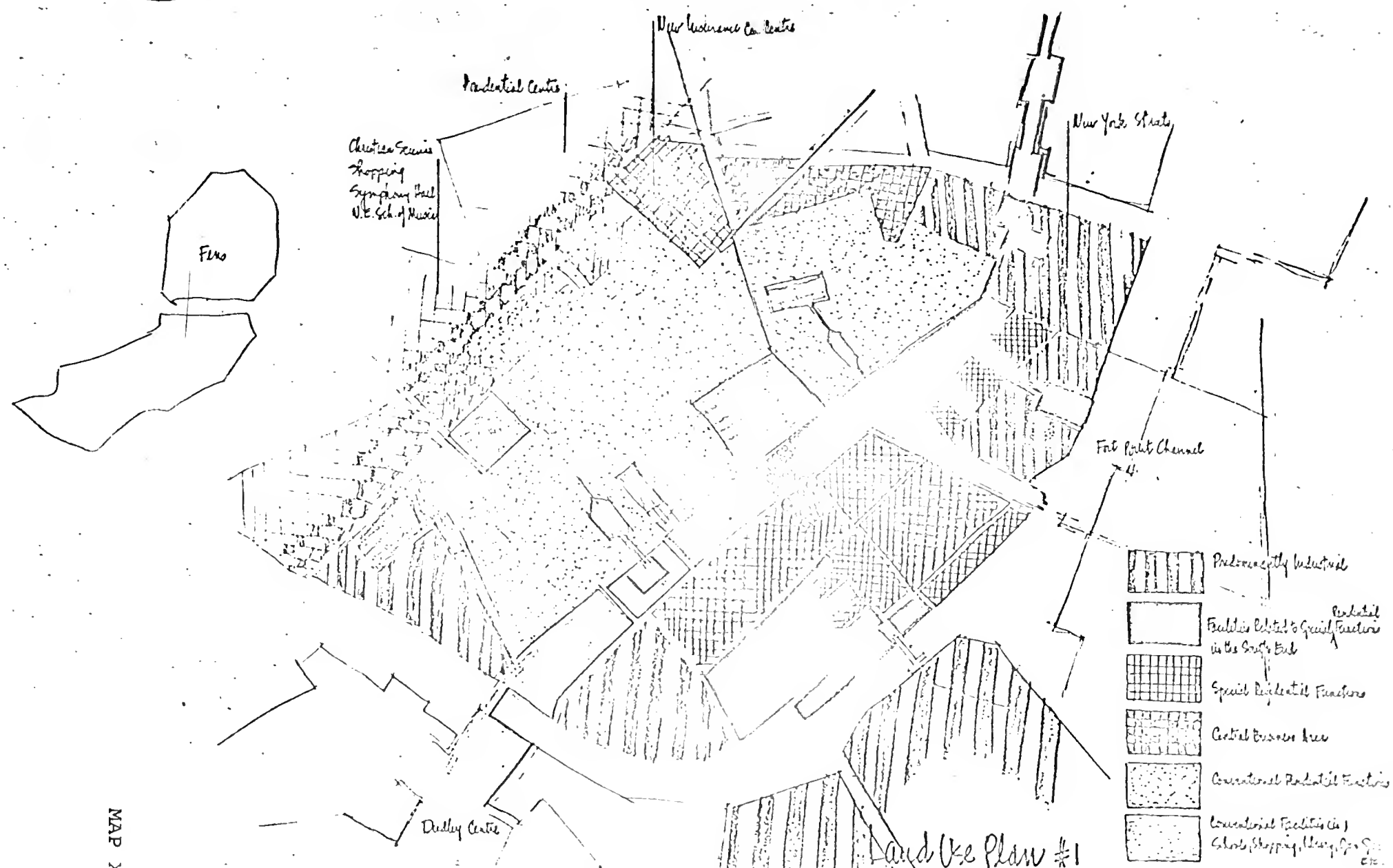
The following table summarizes the allocation of land, first by existing uses, and two, by the proposals of the plan.

LAND ALLOCATION BY LAND USE

Land Use	Present Acreage (Buildable Land)	Acreage Proposed by Plan #1	Estimated Demand
Predominantly Residential	209	124	250
Industrial	63	78	100
Commercial	21		
Public & Semi-Public Facilities	58	165	125
Vacant Land	16		
	367	367	475

From the table it can be seen that there is less total land available than would satisfy the estimated total demand for the various types of land use. If densities were reduced in residential areas marked for rehabilitation and new supporting facilities were introduced, there would be a shortage of land for residential use. If high densities are avoided in new housing areas, it is unlikely that there will be enough units to house the projected population.

In the plan, there is a shortage of approximately 25 acres with



Land Use Plan #1
South End Urban Renewal Area
Boston Redevelopment Authority
June 1962 RDT.

MAP XI

respect to the estimated demand. However, even if the excess from community facilities in the plans is distributed between industrial and residential use, both are still short of estimated demand.

Since demand far exceeds available land, the objectives for the South End become of great importance. The most important objective is to maintain the South End as a residential area. Therefore, the early sketch plan is weak in this respect since the land allocated is far short of demand (125 acres). The excess 40 acres in other facilities should be assigned to residential use. This would reduce the shortage to 85 acres. Still the allocation is short; hence, the relative demands for residential and industrial land must be resolved in future plans. This implies that to meet the population objective of housing 30,000 persons in South End, high-rise structures will have to be built. Otherwise more of the land will have to be allocated to residential use.

Locational Relationships

The key concept of the earlier sketch plans was the creation of two distinct residential areas, one a predominantly family type area with the environment controlled to service it, and the other a predominantly non-family area with different kinds of controls and facilities to service it. A belt of conventional and special community facilities was located between the two areas, which was intended to serve both areas and act as both a meeting place and a barrier. (See preceding map) The major concepts of the plan are as follows:

(1) Locate active, intense uses on the edges of the South End area serviced by large scale transportation facilities,

(2) Minimize amount of through traffic within project by channeling through movement to the periphery of the area.

(3) Supply strong links (pedestrian) to
(a) Downtown (b) Back Bay (c) Dudley Centre
(d) industrial area and Fort Point Channel;
— These links being made strong by visual and physical objectives and land use continuity.

(4) Create a central focus within the area itself near the joint of the four outward links mentioned above.

Community Facilities

The South End lacks sufficient community facilities to serve its needs. In the future more land than is presently used for facilities will be needed. The building of new and replacement of unsatisfactory facilities present an opportunity for establishing a recognizable and meaningful physical structure in the South End. In Plan #1, the original definition of the location of facilities both special and conventional was too sharply drawn. However, the basic idea of a belt of community facilities still seems to be valid, since it appears workable and fits well with existing opportunities in the South End. The kinds of residential uses located along the belt and the degree of separation which this belt of facilities proposes should be reconsidered. Residential uses within the belt seem to be desirable.

Industrial and Large Scale Commercial

According to the present analyses report, there would be a market for 100+ acres of industrial land in total in the South End Project. As proposed, the industrial areas would be located on the edges of the project, served by roads to the Inner Belt and interchanges at three points -- Dover Street, Massachusetts Avenue and the Southwest Expressway terminus. The quantity of industrial land to be allocated in the South End will have to be measured against the demand for other uses. Certain types of industrial uses can function well in the South End because of the advantages the area provides, such as access to expressways and intown location. These

types of industry in turn supply the advantages to the South End in that they provide jobs for the large potential working force in the area.

The basic design problem is the integration of industrial uses with other uses in the project. The solution will have to take into consideration how industry is served from access roads, where parking occurs, and the kinds of industry allowed to locate within the project. Large scale commercial activity, downtown activities and parking facilities seem inevitable along the northern part of the project. In particular, the area from Copley Square to Fort Point Channel along the turnpike is likely to develop with large scale intense downtown uses and this would be desirable from the South End's point of view because it would bridge the barrier which in the past has separated the South End from the rest of Downtown and Back Bay. Also this development could provide excellent pedestrian access between Downtown-South End and Back Bay-South End. The re-alignment of the Washington Street "El" and an extension of the Southwest Expressway would make an activity belt from the Inner Belt to Copley Square along the New Haven right of way a reality and further tie the South End closer to Back Bay which would appear to be of great benefit to the South End.

APPENDIX A

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

GROUP	SIZE
Total Population	33,735
Pre-school Ages 0 - 4	2557 (of which 586 have working mothers)
Ages 5 - 10	2444
Ages 11 - 13	1103
Ages 14 - 17	1235
Single People over 14	M = 6575 F = 3943
Elderly (65 and over)	M = 2963 F = 2520

Source - 1960 Census

STANDARDS FOR COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Facility	Regional Core (APHA)	Local Planning Adm.	Profile for Planning UCS - (leisure time)
Nursery Schools			
Elementary School	$\frac{1}{4}$ mile radius ($\frac{1}{2}$ mile max.) Ages 5-11 (390-510 pupils) 2 story-40 sq. ft. per pupil	$\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile radius (APHA) 300 or more students ten acres for 500 pupils	
Junior High	3/4 to 1 mile radius Ages 12-14 (1000 pupils) 2 story-50 sq. ft. per pupil	700 to 1500 pupils 20 acres (10 acres minimum)	
Adult Education			
Trade School			
Tot Lots		2000 to 5000 sq. ft. one block radius 300 to 700 persons	
Sitting Park			
Playground	2.7 acres (minimum) $\frac{1}{4}$ mile radius 222 sq. ft./elementary school pupil	3 to 7 acres (5 optimum) $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile radius 3000 to 5000 persons	One acre per 1000 population - includes tot lot, corner for older people, spray pool, open space for games
Park (Neighborhood)	1.5 acres (minimum) $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile radius serve 2000 people	2 to 7 acres less than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile 4000 to 7000 people	3 to 4 acres per 1000 population
Playfield	10 acres $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 mile radius 1.2 acres per 1000 population	12 acres (minimum) 20 acres desired $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 mile radius 15,000 to 25,000 people	12 to 20 acres serving 20,000 people. 1 acre/1000 population - sport field, children area, picnic fac.

STANDARDS FOR COMMUNITY FACILITIES (continued)

Facility	Regional Core (APHA)	Local Planning Adm.	Profile for Planning UCS - (leisure time)
Community Center		½ to 1 mile radius 20,000 people Gym per 10,000 Auditorium per 20,000 Playroom 10,000 Lounge " Workshop " Indoor Swimming Pool per 50,000 Teenage center, Senior Citizens center, etc.	1 bldg/20,000 population Gym with locker & showers Assembly Room Lounge Arts and Crafts workshop Swimming Pool - 150 x 50-75 ft. - 1 pool/50,000 population

STANDARDS FOR COMMUNITY FACILITIES (continued)

Facility	General Plan for Boston (1950)	Sargent Report	Standards Recommended for South End	Comments
Nursery School			Radius - South End Ages - 3 and 4 (pre-kindergarten) # of pupils - 40 to 60 size of school - 4 classrooms	
Elementary School	$\frac{1}{2}$ mile radius Grades K-5 400 to 800 pupils over 2 acres	Proposed 4 new elementary school (550 pupils each) 3.6 acres	Radius - $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile Ages - 5-11 (grades K-5) # of pupils - 500 Size of School - less than 2 acres Size of Site - min. of 4 acres	The elementary school site should be combined with a playground site whenever possible for both recreational and physical education uses.
Junior High School	1 mile radius	6.2 acres new school for 700 pupils	Radius - 3/4 to 1 mile Ages - 11-14 (grades 6-8) # of pupils - 800 to 1000 Size of School - 3 acres Size of Site - min. of 8 acres	The Junior High School site should be combined with a playfield site for physical education and recreation activity after school hours.
Adult Education (evening)			Radius - South End Ages served - 18 and over Size of School - (see comments) Facilities needed - classrooms, auditorium, etc.	The Adult Education facility can be accommodated in either an elementary school or a Junior High School. However, the school should be located near public transportation and parking facilities must be available

STANDARDS FOR COMMUNITY FACILITIES (continued)

Facility	General Plan for Boston (1950)	Sargent Report	Standards Recommended for South End	Comments
Trade School			Radius - City Ages served - 14 and over Size of School - (see comments) Facilities needed - classrooms, workshops, etc.	This facility is envisioned to serve two purposes: during the day for vocational education of high school age students; and in the evening for vocational training of adults.
Tot Lots	Desirable but no standards given. Junior Playground - $\frac{1}{4}$ mile radius min. $\frac{1}{2}$ acre - Ages 6-11 yrs.		Radius - 2 blocks Ages served - 3 to 7 Size of site - $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ acre Facilities needed - sand box, swings, slides, jungle gyms, etc.	Nursery schools should be next to a tot lot site or include a small area equipped with swings, jungle gym, slide, etc.
Sitting Park			Radius - 2 blocks Ages served - All ages Size of site - $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 acre Facilities needed - benches, water fountain, trees and shrubs, etc.	This site can be combined with the tot lot thus providing facilities for mothers to supervise their children from a bench nearby.
Playground	Senior Playground $\frac{1}{2}$ mile radius Ages 12 to 15 yrs. Size of site - min. 3 acres Facilities for organized sports, softball, tennis, basketball, etc.		Radius - $\frac{1}{4}$ mile Ages served - 5 to 12 Size of site - 3 acres Facilities - general athletic activities, basketball, tennis, volleyball, etc.	This facility should include a small area - possibly a tot lot - with slides, swings, jungle gym, etc. for the use of younger children.

STANDARDS FOR COMMUNITY FACILITIES (continued)

Facility	General Plan for Boston (1950)	Sargent Report	Standards Recommended for South End	Comments
Neighborhood Park	Area set aside mostly for grownups Facilities - benches, trees, grass, etc.		Radius - $\frac{1}{4}$ mile Ages served - All ages Size of site - 1 to 3 acres Facilities - benches, lawns, trees, etc.	
Playfield			Radius - 1 mile Ages served - 15 and over Size of site - 7 acres Facilities - field for combination football, baseball, basketball, tennis	
Community Center			Radius - 1 mile Ages served - All ages Size of Site - fit all facilities needed. Facilities needed - gym, auditorium, playrooms, lounges, club rooms, workshop, kitchen & cafeteria, skating rink, swimming pool, open space for lawn games.	This community center should be centrally located and accessible to the different groups of people using the facilities. A parking area or a garage should be provided for the center.

PROPOSED CONVENTIONAL FACILITIES - BY STANDARDS

FACILITY	TOTAL REQUIRED	EXISTING	ADDITIONAL FACILITIES REQUIRED	RECOMMENDATIONS
Nursery School	250 children to be served	2 schools 1) South Bay Union 2) Morgan Memorial	4 additional schools (50 children per school)	1) City to provide site for sale to private agency for construction of nursery school 2) City to furnish facility (a rehabilitated house or former municipal building) for use by private agency. Title to remain with the city.
Elementary Schools	2500 pupils to be served (500 per school) 5 schools required	2 schools (Sargent Report)	3 new schools	Proposed sites: 1) Vicinity of Columbus and West Newton Streets. This school can serve the Back Bay as well as the South End. 2) Vicinity of the Lenox Street project and Lower Roxbury. 3) Vicinity of Cathedral Housing Project.
Junior High Schools	1103 students in the South End One school required	None	One school	A centrally located school to serve the South End principally in the vicinity of Shawmut Avenue and West Dedham Streets.
Trade High School	3000 students from throughout the city One school required	None	One school	Ten acres are required for this site. Since proximity to MTA transportation is necessary, a site in the vicinity of Columbus Avenue and Camden Street is recommended.

PROPOSED CONVENTIONAL FACILITIES - BY STANDARDS (continued)

FACILITY	TOTAL REQUIRED	EXISTING	ADDITIONAL FACILITIES REQUIRED	RECOMMENDATIONS
Adult Education		Various facilities scattered throughout the city	The Adult Education program can use the facilities of any school in the area	This program can use the facilities of the centrally located Junior High School.
Tot Lots	13 tot lots Areas have to be served by minimum of one tot lot each	10 tot lots serving five areas	8 new tot lots (for deficient areas)	Tot lots can be combined with the other recreational facilities.
Sitting Parks	13	2	11	Sitting parks can be combined with the proposed tot lots, playgrounds and playfield facilities proposed.
Playgrounds	Minimum of 5	One efficient playground	Minimum of 4	The Rotch and Carter Playgrounds are too far from the residential area to be efficiently used. The O'Day playground is to be incorporated in the Community Center. Therefore a minimum of four new playgrounds are needed, preferably adjoining elementary schools.
Neighborhood Parks	3 parks	Blackstone Square and Franklin Square Park	2 new parks	Blackstone Square and Franklin Square are used as one Park because of their proximity to each other. Therefore two additional neighborhood parks are needed to serve the residential areas. The sites for the parks can be determined by the overall design of the area and thus used to tie in the other facilities.

PROPOSED CONVENTIONAL FACILITIES - BY STANDARDS (continued)

FACILITY	TOTAL REQUIRED	EXISTING	ADDITIONAL FACILITIES REQUIRED	RECOMMENDATIONS
Playfields	2	The Carter Playground	One new playfield	The new playfield can be located next to the proposed centrally located junior high school on West Dedham St.
Community Center	One	None	One	The Community Center should be located in the center of the South End, thus serving the whole population. The site can include the proposed junior high school and playfield and the existing O'Day playground as well as four churches in the area.

WAYS OF DISTRIBUTING FACILITIES	ADVANTAGES	CRITICISMS & DISADVANTAGES	FACILITIES APPROPRIATE TO EACH MODE OF DISTRIBUTION
Scatteration (present condition)	May be beneficial influence on more adjacent residential uses.	1. But may at same time dilute strengths 2. Desirable linkages not present, e.g. playground near school	Nursery schools Tot lots Sitting parks
"Neighborhood" oriented clusters	1. Linkages possible 2. Focus for an area provided - identity and structure 3. Separation of uses - where desirable - is possible 4. Active more hours of day 5. Multi-use possible	1. Divirsive in an area already over-divided? 2. Some facilities are linked not to "neighborhoods" but to larger units	Elementary schools Playgrounds Neighborhood parks Churches Social services Shopping-Commercial (social aspects)
Strong Center	1. Might give identity to South End as a unit 2. Active all of the waking day 3. Multi-use possible	1. Some facilities are not appropriate to a center but must be distributed throughout the area	Jr. High School and Playfield Community meeting hall Major shopping facility? Adult education & vocational training Community oriented social services Churches Library Branch municipal bldg.(s) (welfare, tax, health) Park, branch zoolet P. O. (& other federal)

WAYS OF DISTRIBUTING FACILITIES (continued)

	ADVANTAGES	CRITICISMS & ADVANTAGES	FACILITIES APPROPRIATE TO EACH MODE OF DISTRIBUTION
Linear Distribution	1. Offers opportunity of separating areas 2. Also can be used as a spine	1. Strong linkages 2. Multiple use of services less feasible 3. Continuity (as opposed to unity of clusters) dilutes function of identity	All of the foregoing
Strip Segments	1. Conforms to existing block configurations	1. Difficult to relate to open space	All of 'neighborhood' cluster facilities
Intersectionally-oriented centers	1. Appropriate to uses requiring auto transport. e.g. high activity centers	1. Noisome to pedestrians 2. Linkages across street weakened	Commercial, park, parking

City of Boston New Development in Execution or Planning

Name of Project or Development	Type	Displacement in occupied units	New Housing Units Number	Type	Vac. Units Rehab.	Housing Deficit	
A. Projects in Execution							
1. New York Streets	Title 1	931 fam. 1950	none		none	-931	a
2. Charles River Park	Title 1	3,076 fam. 1950	2495 total hi rent 477 built 477 bldg. 1541 programmed		"	-581	b
3. Whitney Street	121A	345 (1960 figure)	277 bldg. 121A 548 est. feet		none	+480	c
4. Government Center	Title 1	546 (1960 figure)	none		none	-546	d
Sub-total (record to date)		4,898	3320		none	-1578	
B. Public Projects Proposed							
5. Washington Park	Title 1	2,184 current tot. 1,708 families 476 individuals	1300	221d3 & public	200 est.	-684	e
6. Charlestown	Title 1	780 current	1480	221d3	negl.	+700	f
7. Castle Square	Title 1	600 tot. 1961 est. 530 families 70 individuals	450	221d3 & public	none	-150	g
8. Balance of South End	Title 1	4,100 current est.	?	221d3 & public	200 est.	?	h
9. North Harvard	Title 1	74	280	hi rent	none	+206	i
10. Mattapan	Title 1	24	400	221d3	none	+376	j
11. Notre Dame site		60	500 tent. low rent		"	+440	k
Sub total		7,822	4410 + SE		400 est.	-3412 - SE	

C. Private Developments in Prospect

12. Prudential Center	121A	none	1750	hi rent	none	+1750	l
13. Tremont Street	priv.	none	400	hi rent		+ 400	m
14. Commonwlth & Clarendon	priv.	negl.	125	hi rent		+ 125	n
15. Jamaicaway	priv.	none	280	hi rent		+ 280	o
16. Commonwlth Country Club	priv.	none	300	med. rent		+ 300	p
17. Stony Brook (1st Rlty)	priv.	none	514	121d3		+ 514	q
18. Stony Brook (Schoolman)	priv	none	577	121d3		+ 577	r
19. Chestnut Hill & Comwlth.	priv.	none	300	med. rent		+ 300	s
Sub Total		none	4246			+4246	

	Displacement in occupied units	New Housing Units Number	Type	Housing Deficit
Highway Demolition				
Mass. Turnpike Extension	1500 t			
Inner Belt in Boston	1606 u			
" " Charlestown	121			
Southwest Expressway	2106 u			
	5333			
Grand Total (nearest 1000)	18000	12000 + SE		6000 - SE

Total Inventory April 1960 v	240160
Demolition 4/60 to 4/62 w	1893
Balance	238267
Construction 4/60 to 4/62 w	3251
Total Inventory April 1962	241518

Sources

a. Boston Redevelopment Authority, brochure on Urban Renewal, 1960
b. Ibid for demolition. For new units, clippings from "Christian Science Monitor"
c. From William Johnson of B.R.A.
d. From Martin Adler
e. From Margot Mitchell
f. From Pat McCarthy
g. From Russell Traunstein
h. Estimate by W. E. Barbour, being average figure derived in preceeding section, this report
i. From George Feltovich
j. Ibid
k. From Margot Mitchell
l. From public relations director, Prudential Insurance Co.
m. From George Feltovich
n. Ibid
o. Ibid
p. Clipping from "Christian Science Monitor"
q. Ibid
r. Ibid
s. Ibid
t. A pure guess on my part (W.B.). Figures not available
u. "Inner Belt & Expressway System", Commonwealth of Mass., 1962
v. 1960 Census
w. Mr. Malloy of Boston Building Dept.

APPENDIX C

NUMBER OF STORES BY TYPE IN SOUTH END

Convenience Goods

19 Drugs

5 Supermarkets

86 Grocery - small

40 Liquor (pkg.)

10 Hardware

17 Gas Stations

Primary Shoppers Goods

0 Department stores

44 Variety stores

31 Apparel stores

3 Jewelry (cheap)

Secondary Shoppers Goods

11 Furniture 7 household furnishings

6 Household Appliances

119 Eating places (cafes, restaurants)

27 Drinking places (bars, lounges)

General Purchases

6 Auto parts and accessories

2 Auto dealers

Services

49 Barber shops

38 Beauty shops

8 Tailor shops

64 Laundries, cleaners, laundromats

11 Building maintenance

3 Locksmiths (key shops)

4 Electrical repair shop

12 Shoe repair

3 Clock-watch repair

2 Furniture - upholstering

19 Auto repair

Other Services

6 Funeral homes

4 Movers

1 Bank

18 Plumbers

8 Painters

10 Pawn brokers, loans

7 Pool - billiards

5 Garages

5 News Dealers

8 Truckers

1 Cab company

2 Music schools

1 Boxing school

5 Optometrists

47 Realtors & realty companies

2 Hotels

1 Pet shop

1 Silver cleaning

11 Doctors

16 Dentists

2 Dental labs

15 Lawyers

1 Notary Public

1 Accountant

1 Architect

4 Engineer

5 Photographers

4 Artist Studios

2 Barber schools

1 Dance Studio

2 Veternarians

1 Auctioneer

1 Employment Agency

13 Manufacturing representatives

Other Retail Stores

3 Fuel companies

4 Labor companies

1 Tile company

2 Photo equipment

15 Radio, TV, records & books

11 Flower shops

2 Picture Frames

10 Electrical sales

1 Typewriter

4 Toys, novelties

6 Smoke shops

2 Limbs and braces (sales)

2 signs

Total 914

APPENDIX D

BUILDING CONDITION OF WHOLESALE-STORAGE USES

USE	Good A	Minor Repair B	Major Repair C	Structure not sound D	Total Floor Area Square Feet
Shoe - Wh.	-	18,705	-		18,705
Elect. Equip. Wh.	1,142	12,800	650	-	14,592
Meats - Wh.	-	-	1,382	-	1,382
Drugs - Wh.	-	63,150	-	-	63,150
Florists - Wh.	-	165,215	500	-	165,715
Apparel - Wh.	-	43,875	59,200	-	103,075
Plumbing & Heating	-	1,300	-	-	1,300
Bakery	-	-	12,300	-	12,300
News Distributor	30,600	-	1,100	-	31,700
Hospital Supplies	-	27,825	925	-	28,750
Truck Rental	-	25,075	-	-	25,075
Vending Machines	-	3,500	-	-	3,500
Variety Wh. gen. merch.	-	11,250	-	-	11,250
Storage Warehousing	30,600	111,290	121,658	13,161	277,409
	62,342	484,685	197,715	13,161	757,903

28%

BUILDING CONDITION
OF MANUFACTURING USES

USE	Good A	Minor Repair B	Major Repair C	Structure not sound D	Total Floor Area Square Feet
Furniture, wood lumber	93,170	59,285	195,925	1,500	351,480
Metal	-	60,600	32,390	9,864	102,854
Machinery	1,625	31,900	41,370	-	74,895
Bldg. Materials	1,600	40,920	-	-	42,520
Elect. Equip.	-	51,984	10,800	-	62,784
Neon lights & signs	-	5,000	13,950	-	18,950
Novelties	-	32,220	53,350	-	85,570
Glass	-	7,101	1,850	1,500	10,451
Record Manuf.	-	16,000	-	-	16,000
Distillers	-	-	18,000	-	18,000
Leather	-	82,086	28,150	-	110,236
Food	-	26,450	15,735	3,315	45,500
Textiles, Apparel	-	198,506	38,044	-	236,550
Printing, Publ.	1,600	156,803	-	10,800	129,603
Paints	7,000	15,739	18,800	-	41,539
Plastics, Chemicals, Dyes	1,025	70,400	6,070	-	77,495
Soap	-	-	2,755	-	2,755
Paper	-	100,319	24,795	-	125,114
Bedding Manuf.	-	12,300	6,825	12,600	31,725
Shoes	-	95,950	46,250	-	132,200
Edison Power Co.	-	16,950	-	-	16,950
Misc. Manuf.	5,000	156,915	136,750	-	298,665
Totals	111,020	1,237,423	691,809	39,579	2,031,836

36%